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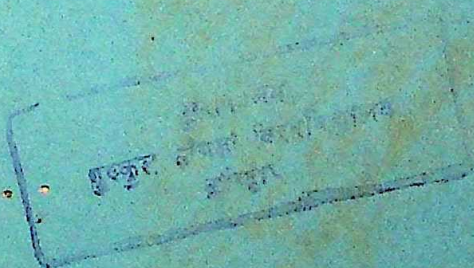
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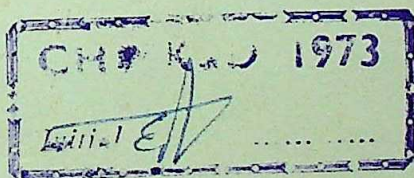
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When Kerala was Ahead of India

A NEGLECTED PERIOD OF SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY

BY

P. J. THOMAS, M.A., B.LITT., D.PHIL. (OXON.)

Which Period ?

The south was, till about a hundred years ago, ahead of all India in trade and navigation and in all material aspects of civilization. But the north dominated politically. During the first three centuries of the Christian Era, however, the fortunes of the north were at a low ebb, and the south was the scene of a remarkable efflorescence not only in literature and religion but in trade and commerce. As centre of Rome's trade in the east, South India then attained a position of great influence and power. Perhaps as a result of this, certain kings of the south were able not only to carry out successful raids in the north, but also to maintain political domination, for a time, over vast territories.

It was South India, south of Tirupati, then called Tamilakam, that thus came into prominence, 1700 years ago. In Tamilakam were three chief kingdoms (*Muvaraser*), Chera, Chola and Pandya. Each of these attained suzerainty over the other two (*Mummudi*) at various times, but during the period under notice, it was the turn of the Cheras, who had their capital at Musiri (Muziris of the Romans), also called Vanchi and Karur. That was India's principal port then, and here was centred India's foreign trade. Two of the Chera kings of the time, namely Imayavaramban-Cheraladan, and Chenkuttavan, are reported to have invaded the Gangetic plain and defeated Aryan kings and Yavana settlers. Perhaps the fact of these invasions is better attested than the reputed conquests of Samudragupta, the so-called Indian Napoleon in the south. But these exploits in the south have not been incorporated in the history of India.

What Sources ?

It may be that the sources for the history of the south are scrappy, but this period (1st to 3rd century, A.D.) is illumi-

nated by many contemporary Tamil and Greek sources of rare value. In Pliny's *Natural History* (c. 50 A.D.), *Periplus Maris Aerithrae* (c. 70 A.D.), and in Ptolemy's *Geography* (c. 150 A.D.), we have detailed accounts of the Chera country, and we know from these works that Rome's Eastern trade was centred in Kerala ports, because most of the goods required came from Kerala and the neighbouring country. But these Greek writings throw little light on the political condition of the country. This void, however, is filled by important Tamil works of the time, which were written in or around Kerala, which was then at the helm of Tamilakam. *Padittupathu*, *Chilappadikaram*, *Manimekalai*, *Akananuru*, *Purananuru* — these classical Tamil works are not now familiar to Kerala people, but they were written by leading poets of Kerala, when Tamil was its language, and they deal largely with the exploits of the Cheraman kings of the time. The first work above named eulogises ten leading Chera kings. *Chilappadikaram* was written by the scholarly brother (Ilango-Adigal) of the greatest Chera king of the age, Chenkuttavan, who also held hegemony over all Tamilakam, as is generally admitted. Thus, what may be called the Augustan Age of Tamil Literature synchronised with the period during which Kerala dominated the political life as well as the trade of the country.

Although such important historical sources, internal and external, are available for this early period of South Indian history, those have not been properly worked out, and this magnificent period of South Indian history still remains obscure. For one thing, the great epic *Chilappadikaram*, although available in English in the excellent translation by Prof. V. R. R. Dikshitar, has not been given its due place in Indian History. A reconstruction of the history of this period on proper lines is a great need. In the present paper, it is proposed to deal chiefly with trade and navigation, and also with the state of religion and culture.

Early Trade

From very ancient times, South India had trade with China and Indonesia in the east, and Arabia, Abyssinia, Egypt, Greece and Rome in the west. Spices, precious stones, ivory and sandalwood were much in demand in those countries. This trade goes back to the Chaldaeans (3000 B.C.) and Phoenicians (1000 B.C.). Later, Arabs, Jews and Somalis took active part in this trade. Eventually it fell into the hands of Romans, and under them it flourished most. The bulk of the articles entering into this trade

came from Kerala, and thus that part of the country had for long the largest share in this foreign trade.

This trade with the West formerly went on, partly by the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates valley, and partly by the Red Sea route. The latter ultimately became the principal route. Sailing ships took this cargo from Muziris or from Barygaza (Broach), to Myos Hormus on the Red Sea, and from there caravans took it to Alexandria on the Mediterranean Sea. Early Roman emperors, especially Augustus, valued this trade very much, and gave it every encouragement.

Discovery of Monsoon Winds

About the year 45 A.D., the trade through this route was revolutionized, as it were, by the discovery of the monsoon winds, by a navigator called Hippalus. This discovery made it possible for sailing vessels to cut across the Arabian Sea straight from Red Sea mouth to Muziris on the Malabar Coast. Thus was avoided the perilous coastal journey by the Arabian and the Persian coasts, which mariners dreaded. Perhaps the Phoenician and Arab mariners had known and used this route, but it was kept a closed secret by them.

The result of this discovery was to make Kerala the greatest centre of trade, not only of India, but of the whole eastern world. Muziris thus became a port of enviable position in all India, in all the world. The supremacy of Muziris was due, not only to the advantage of the Monsoon winds, but also to the fact that the articles of largest demand in the Roman Empire and China were the produce of Kerala or nearby. Not only beryl from Coimbatore but spikenard from Ganges and Dacca muslins seem to have come to West Coast ports, mostly borne by bullocks or buffaloes through the overland routes. In other words, a large entrepot trade was carried on in those days at Muziris. In the matter of trade, at any rate, all roads then led to Muziris.

Pepper Fleets from Malabar

The chief article which brought Roman traders to Kerala was pepper. Fashionable Rome after her triumph over enemies, wanted all kinds of oriental luxuries—muslins, pearls and spices. And after the conquest of Carthage and other rich lands, there was plenty of gold in Rome to pay for these. The article that loomed largest in bulk and value was pepper; this was the staple

commodity of Roman trade, and formed the great bulk of the cargo of Roman ships. Further, all the pepper available to world trade at the time came from Malabar.

Pepper was from ancient times an important culinary spice in Europe and was used to season food and preserve meat. It was also an unavoidable ingredient of medicines, and was prescribed by Hippocrates (who calls it the "Indian remedy") and by Galen, Pliny, Celsus and other Greek writers who deal with medicine. In Rome, the use of pepper seems to have become very popular from the time of Augustus, and according to Pliny (XII, 14), its price was as high as 15 denarii (about Rs. 7) per pound. Even higher prices were quoted. The prices in India must have been much lower and the profits realized were as high as 100 per cent according to Pliny. After the discovery of the monsoons and the consequent facilitation of transport the price of pepper fell but this made its demand elastic and such vast quantities had to be imported that about the year 192 A.D., special warehouses called *horrea piperatoria* had to be erected near the *Sacra-Via*. It was ground in pepper mills (*molae piperatoria*), or mortars, and sold in paper packets in *Campus Martius* and other market places. The pots or dishes (often of silver) in which pepper was brought to the table were called '*piperatoria*'.

Many Roman writers, especially Pliny, attacked the atrocious tastes of those who needed pepper to whet their appetite. "It is quite surprising," wrote Pliny, "that the use of pepper has come so much into fashion, seeing that it is sometimes their substance and sometimes their appearance that has attracted our notice; whereas pepper has nothing in it that can plead as a recommendation to either fruit or berry, its only desirable quality being a certain pungency; and yet it is for this that we import it all the way from India. Who was the first to make trial of it as an article of food? And who, I wonder, was the man who was not content to prepare for himself by hunger only or satisfying of a greedy appetite." (XII, 14).

In spite of such strictures, the import trade in pepper grew immensely, and Roman merchants made vast profits, at the cost of the poor pepper growers here. It may be that gold and specie, worth over 1.5 crores annually, was sent to India and China. But, Rome got in return a commodity of several times that value in world trade. The importance of pepper as a trade staple then can be seen from the fact that in 408 A.D., when Alaric the Goth laid

siege to Rome, the terms he offered for raising the siege included the immediate payment of 3000 pounds of pepper along with other similar valuables.

Muziris and Barake

The chief centre of this trade was Muziris. In the first century A.D., this port grew to great dimensions. Its glory is recounted in Tamil as well as Roman writings of the time. According to contemporary Tamil works mentioned above, Muziris was an extremely busy place with a harbour crowded with ships and craft of all kinds, with large warehouses and bazaars adjoining it, and with stately palaces and places of worship in the interior. The great bulk of the cargo taken from there was pepper; cinnamon leaf, beryl, pearls, ivory, silk-cloth, diamonds and tortoise-shell make up the rest. Imports were mostly gold and silver coin; some wine, glass, metals like copper, tin and lead, were also imported. Not least important among the imports were singing boys and pretty maidens for the harem of the kings here. To guard this valuable trade, two Roman cohorts are said to have been stationed at Muziris.

Another important port, especially for pepper trade, was Barake (Purakad), which was at the mouth of river Baris (Pampayar). It was nearer to, and more accessible from, the chief pepper growing area in the interior, namely the forests at the upper reaches of Pampa river. Pepper from that area was taken by country boats to Nelcynda (Nakkida near Neranom), and from there it was taken in large boats to Barake. When Pliny wrote, Nelcynda and Barake had apparently a large share in pepper trade, chiefly because the coastal area north of Muziris was infested by pirates. But in Ptolemy (c. 150 A.D.), we find Muziris in full control of pepper trade, evidently because piracy had been suppressed in the meantime; we are also told that Nelcynda and Barake had ceased to be legal marts, and Muziris was the only authorised mart. According to the earlier writers, Nelcynda and Barake were in the Pandya Kingdom, but these had ceased to be the case, apparently because the Chera kings had got back the southern territory from Pandyas. This agrees remarkably with the narrative of Chera history in the 1st and 2nd centuries, A.D., as found in the Tamil works quoted above.

A Great Age of Navigation

The commerce of South Indian ports with Alexandria reached great heights, especially during the years 45—160 A.D. With

growing prosperity in Rome, the demand for not only pepper but other spices and luxury goods rose to unknown proportions. To satisfy the craving of Roman women, Indian peacocks, parrots, monkeys and other pets were also taken, and Indian elephants were required for royal processions in Rome. The size of ships and their number had to be increased, to meet such growing needs. As such large imports had to be paid for in gold or specie, authorities in Rome had to face serious currency problems. After 218 A.D., copper coins had to be used to pay for imports.

With the increase of goods traffic, ships had also to carry numerous passengers to India. Some ships were equipped for carrying hundreds of passengers. Not all of them were merchants; there were also builders and architects needed by South Indian kings. There were also women; a first century Greek letter of a woman called 'Indika' is preserved in papyrus. According to Warmington she was either the Indian wife of a Greek merchant resident in India, or daughter born to an Egyptian Greek while resident here. (*Commerce between Roman Empire and India*, pp. 67-8.) There are also references, in Tamil books, to Yavana men and women resident in India. Some of them were in the employ of kings to guard their palaces or grace their courts. Such large numbers of people from the Red Sea had never come to India before; nor after 200 A.D., till about the middle of the 19th century. The contemporary work, *Periplus*, it is said, was written as a guide-book to help these numerous foreigners in South India.

A Glorious Period of South Indian History

The importance in South Indian history of the period under review can only be realized when we remember that from the very beginning of history down to 1868 A.D., when the Suez Canal was opened, communication from the Mediterranean shores to India had never been so easy nor quick, as during this period. The Red Sea route was known and used before 45 A.D., but most ships pursued the perilous and prolonged coastal route touching Makran, as few except Somalis and Arabs had known the secret of the Monsoon winds. Therefore the traffic was meagre. Nor did the colossal trade and navigation activity sketched above last long. The decline started in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161—80 A.D.) was hastened by the cruel massacre carried out by Caracalla in Alexandria (212 A.D.). The demand for oriental luxuries gradually declined in Rome, and the traffic in these articles passed from Egyptian Greeks to Arabs and Axumites. Finally

with the Islamic expansion into Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, about the middle of the seventh century, the access of the Mediterranean peoples to the Arabian Sea was blocked for a long time, i.e., until Suez Canal was opened (1868). In the result, the Portuguese, Dutch, British and other traders had to sail through the prolonged route round Africa to reach India. Clive and Warren Hastings had to take this route. This protracted journey took over twelve months, as against the three months involved in the journey from Alexandria through Red Sea in Roman times. The Arabian Sea was crossed in 40 days, after 45 A.D. Thus the period 45 to 212 A.D., is really unique in the long history of navigation, as also in South Indian history as a whole. It was a period when South India, led by Kerala, figured most prominently in Indian and World history.

A Flourishing Civilization

Judging from Chilappadikaram and other Tamil Works, South India was then a most prosperous part of India, of the world, and its civilization was of a high order. Cities like Muziris and Puhar (Caveri-pum-pattinam) were in a most flourishing state, with magnificent thoroughfares and busy bazaars and with separate quarters set apart for different sections of people. Many merchants had amassed wealth and they lived in large houses, some of which were seven storeys high. For their enjoyment there were theatres and dancing-halls. The evening gatherings of pleasure-seekers at the seaside in Puhar, described in Chilappadikaram, remind one of Lido in Venice, rather than of anything elsewhere in India. There were schools, and learning was greatly valued. Even women became famous as poets. Women occupied a high place in society and did not at all form an inferior sex; they moved about freely. There were different castes, but hardly any caste exclusiveness. Varnasrama had not become as hard as it later became, especially in Kerala. Nor are these descriptions too fanciful; they are confirmed by independent sources and by foreign accounts. It is doubtful if any other part of India was in such prosperous condition at that time.

State of Religion

The Tamil works referred to above disclose a commendable state of religious toleration prevailing in Kerala at the time. Vedic Hinduism had come with the Nambudiri Brahmins who apparently had already settled here, but their influence was very limited at the

time. The common people worshipped Kāli and Murugan, following the Dravidian tradition. Buddhism and Jainism were becoming popular with the intellectual classes, even in high society. And there were all over the country Buddhist viharas and Jain chaityas, frequented by devotees of both sexes. Ilengo-Adigal, brother of King Chenkuttavan, was a devout Jain, while the king himself practised Hinduism. The court-poet, Chathanar, was a fervent Buddhist. Nevertheless, all the three worked harmoniously. With the coming of Saiva Siddhanta zealots, like Manikkavacagar, from the other side of the hills in the third and fourth centuries, Hinduism took a rather fanatical turn, and caste exclusiveness became prevalent. This led to the decline of Buddhism and Jainism. Nor was the environment sketched above unfavourable for the influx of foreign religions like Christianity.

Conclusion

It is clear from what has been stated above that there is need for a closer study of South Indian History, especially of the first three centuries A.D., when this part of India played a prominent part, not only in the commercial, but in the political and religious history of India.

Col. Baillie and the Oudh Loans

BY

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It was because the East India Company's finances were very much embarrassed during the war with Nepal that Lord Hastings had to ask repeatedly for monetary loans from the ruler of Oudh. The first loan of a crore of rupees was treated more or less as a willing offer on the part of the Nawab, but the second loan for another crore was, according to the testimony of the British Resident at Lucknow, Col. Baillie, nothing but an "abominable extortion."¹ This charge of extortion levelled by the Resident became the subject matter of an acrimonious controversy in India and in England. The question has usually been superficially passed over by historians, although it has an important bearing on the development of British policy towards Oudh.

From the huge mass of evidence available to us, it is possible to form an idea of the truth of the accusation made by Col. Baillie. The position taken up by him may be thus summed up:—

1. Even the first loan was given by the Nawab in 1814 with great reluctance and at his "earnest entreaty"² and "solicitation".³

2. The second loan of 1815 was forced, and that he was "the instrument of extortion, the thumb-screw employed in compelling his victim to comply with his cruel demands".⁴

1. 'Oude Papers'.

2. Letter from Col. Baillie to Mr. Ricketts, Secretary to Government, dated Lucknow, Jan. 10, 1815.

3. Letter from Col. Baillie to Joseph Dart, Esq. 1823.

4. Col. Baillie's evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons.

During the enquiry⁵ conducted by a House of Commons Committee, Col. Baillie said in his reply to the question — “Did it appear to you that the Nawab gave the loan unwillingly?” —, “The loan of so much money by a Musulman, whose religion does not allow him to take interest for money lent, must have been given with reluctance”.

Col. Baillie questioned the veracity of Lord Hastings's own *Summary* of his administration (published in 1823), and said that his evidence given in 1822 could have had no reference to the aforesaid *Summary*. Besides, there was discrepancy, he said, between the *Summary* and the official papers. Col. Baillie urged that so far was the Nawab from coming forward with the offer of the second loan that he could never have dreamt of such a demand being made upon him. In fact, the second loan was obtained after “a protracted, painful and vexatious negotiation”,⁶ begun rather reluctantly by the Resident under orders of the Governor General.⁷ The Nawab, according to the Resident, had told him, “As far as a crore of rupees, I shall certainly furnish by way of loan, but beyond that sum is impossible”.⁸ Col. Baillie stated that the first loan was negotiated in three days, whereas more than a month was spent over the talks in connection with the second loan.⁹

Furthermore, Col. Baillie revealed that the Nawab could be prevailed upon with difficulty to give in the first instance fifty lakhs only. It was under incessant pressure that the Nawab agreed to pay a full crore. Lord Hastings himself conveyed his thanks to Col. Baillie for the zeal which he had displayed during the loan negotiations.¹⁰

Again, Col. Baillie alleged that the Nawab had asked for a bond and a pledge that no further demands should be made to him. The exact words of the Nawab were said to be these. “It is impossible for me to give any more, and I trust that I shall be

5. This was occasioned by a petition to the House of Commons in the session of 1822.

6. Letter from Col. Baillie to Mr. Ricketts.

7. Letter from Ricketts to Col. Baillie.

8. Letter from the Nawab to Col. Baillie.

9. ‘Oude Papers, p. 1033.

10. Letter from the Secretary to Government, March 20.

exempted from all future demands".¹¹ This request of the Nawab, Col. Baillie said, was strongly objected to by the Governor General.¹²

Lastly, Col. Baillie ridiculed the idea that the Nawab had any ulterior motive in offering loans to the Governor General.

On a critical examination of the evidence of Col. Baillie, it would appear that he was guilty of gross exaggeration. Having been dismissed from his post by the Governor General, he bore enmity to the latter and had reason to defame him. But, the facts show that the second loan was not so voluntary as the first one had been. In any case, it is clear that the second loan was not obtained with ease. Had it been easily secured, Lord Hastings would not have expressed his special appreciation of Col. Baillie's labours in this connection. But, the allegations of force and compulsion are not borne out by the official documents. On the other hand, the following things are worthy of note in this connection. Firstly, the Nawab never expressed his resentment on this account, and Col. Baillie's statement is not corroborated by documents. Secondly, the Nawab, in fact, repeatedly offered to fulfil the wishes of the Governor General whom he called "my respected uncle". Thirdly, the Nawab assured the latter that his "*Jan Mal*" (life and property) were at his Lordship's demand.¹³ In short, the Nawab's attitude was always characterised by the utmost humility and courtesy which were a familiar feature of Lucknow culture.

It is also not unlikely that the Nawab paid the loans as a price for his emancipation from the irksome control of the haughty and dictatorial Resident who exercised absolute power over him. The abrupt dismissal of Col. Baillie by Lord Hastings is otherwise inexplicable to a great extent. Col. Baillie had reason to suspect that his removal may have been inspired by the desire to placate the Nawab. Col. Baillie's vendetta against the Governor General was thus a direct consequence of his own removal from Lucknow where he had played the role of an autocrat. His lip sympathy for the Nawab towards whom his own conduct is known to have been extremely arbitrary and highhanded is therefore hardly convincing.

11. Letter from the Nawab to Col. Baillie.
12. Letter from the Secretary to Government to Col. Baillie.
13. Letter from the Nawab to Col. Baillie.

About the moral aspect of the Oudh loan transactions, however, there can be no two opinions. That the Oudh ruler was shamelessly exploited is clear. His show of willingness was a pretence alone. He knew he was powerless to resist the demands of the Governor General, and so he had to pay with good grace and oriental humility. These loans therefore throw a lurid light on the manner in which the Company exercised its suzerainty rights in Oudh. The supporters of Lord Hastings could always urge, as one actually did during the India House debate on February 8, 1826, "If the Governor General extorted the loans from the Vizier, he had done so from patriotic motives, and for the advantage of his country". The plea of expediency clinches the issue!

Pārśvanātha: His life and Doctrine

BY

B. C. LAW, M.A., LL.B., PH.D., D.LITT., HON. F.R.A.S.

F.R.A.S.B., F.B.B.R.A.S.

The Jain saint Pārśvanātha was the twenty-third Tirthāṅkara.¹ He was the immediate predecessor of Mahāvīra. He was respected and worshipped as the Prophet of the Law. He was a favourite of the people,² clever, with the aspirations of a clever man, of great beauty, controlling his senses, lucky and modest.³ He was of blue complexion.⁴ He was a tall man measuring 9 cubits.⁵ He lived as a householder for 30 years and 70 years as an ascetic. Altogether he is said to have lived for 100 years.⁶ He was active in the 8th century B.C.⁷ Jacobi regards this date as not improbable as some centuries must have elapsed between his time and the appearance of Mahāvīra. He died 250 years before Mahāvīra.⁸ Charpentier is right in pointing out that Pārśva existed as a real person and consequently the main points of the original doctrine may have been codified long before Mahāvīra.⁹ The doctrine of Mahāvīra was scarcely anything else than a modified or renovated form of Pārśva's creed.¹⁰ In other words, Mahāvīra was only a reformer and carried still further the work begun by Pārśva.¹¹ Pārśva seems to be the

1. Hemachandra, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, Ch. I, 26-28.

2. *Purīṣādāṇīe* (*Purīṣādāṇīya*), *Kālpasūtra*, 149, 155; Pāli *Purīṣājāṇīya*, *Anguttara*, I, 290; II, 115. It may be interpreted as the man of high birth or a distinguished person. Jacobi has explained it as one who is to be chosen among men because of his preferable *karman*—*Jaina sūtras*, I, S.B.E., Vol. XXII, p. 271 n.

3. *Kālpasūtra*, 115 -*dakkhe dakkha-painne paḍirūve allīne bhaddae viṇīe* . . .

4. Nahar & Ghosh, *Epitome of Jainism*, xlv.

5. Kapadia, *The Jain religion and literature*, vol. I, p. 24.

6. *Kālpasūtra*, 168.

7. Guérinot, *Bibliographie Jaina*, Intro. According to some towards the end of the 9th century B.C. (J. C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons*, p. 22).

8. Cf. S.B.E., XLV, p. 122 n. 3.

9. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, Ed. Charpentier, Intro. p. 21.

10. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 160.

11. S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 48; Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 424 n.

real founder of Jainism. He had undoubtedly better claims to this title.¹² It is quite true, as pointed out by Charpentier, that Jain religion is certainly older than Mahāvīra.¹³ The literary evidences in the Jain and Buddhist texts amply prove the existence of a Nir-grantha (Niggaṇṭha) order founded by Pārśva before Mahāvīra.

The existence of Pārśva's order in Mahāvīra's time is proved by the reported disputes between the followers of Pārśva and those of Mahāvīra. The followers of Pārśva, who did not fully recognise Mahāvīra as their spiritual guide, existed during Mahāvīra's lifetime. There were the followers of Pārśva round about Magadha even in the days of Mahāvīra. A sort of compromise was effected between the two sections of the Jain Church.¹⁴

According to the *Ācārūṅga sūtra* (II. Lec. 15. 16) the parents of Mahāvīra who belonged to the Jñātri-Kṣatriyas¹⁵ were worshippers of Pārśva. Following the teachings of Pārśva they peacefully died by the practice of slow starvation of the senses.

Pārśva was undoubtedly a historical person. His followers and doctrines are distinctly mentioned in the Jain sūtras.¹⁶ He probably did something to improve the discipline of the homeless monks. His rule was followed by a body of monks. Mahāvīra seems to have supported them.

When Pārśva came to know the time of renunciation by means of his intuition, he gave up everything he had and went through the town of Benares in a palanquin and came to the park called the Āśramapada. He then proceeded to the Aśoka tree. There he got down from the palanquin, took off his ornaments and plucked out the hair of his head with his own hands. When the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *viśākhā*, he entered the state of homelessness after fasting for three days and a half. He practised strict morality for 83 days and overcame all obstacles on the 84th day. Being engaged in meditation he got the infinite, excellent, unobstructed, unimpeded, the highest knowledge and intuition called *Kevala*.¹⁷

12. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VII, p. 466; I.A., IX, June 1880, p. 162.

13. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* Ed. Charpentier, p. 21.

14. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 155.

15. Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, Ch. II.

16. I.A., Vol. IX, 158 ff., 162.

17. *Kalpasūtra*, 156-59 ... anamte aṇuttare nivvāghāe nirāvarane jāva Kevala-vara-nāṇadaṃsaṇe samuppanne ... It is the just synonymn of Pali *aparisaṇa*.

Pārśva became the head of a big community of monks and nuns. He preached his doctrine for seventy years till his *karma* was exhausted. At first Mahāvīra belonged to the order of Pārśva. He found the discipline of Pārśva's monks not very stringent¹⁸ and he left them. He was able to win over the members of Pārśva's order.

The religious tradition of Pārśva or Supārśva was embodied in the ten earlier *Pūrvas*¹⁹ and formed, according to the *Bhagavati sūtra*, a common basis of the Jain and Ājīvika canons. Dr. Barua points out that Pārśva, who was a philosophic predecessor of Mahāvīra, had rules of conduct which needed a philosophic justification in order that they might not appear arbitrary or be confused with social conventions.²⁰

Jacobi in his *Jaina sūtras* (Pt. II, pp. xix-xxii) has thrown light on the relationship between Pārśva and Mahāvīra as teachers. Pārśva's order was a religious one. Mahāvīra founded a new school of his own after the model of that of Pārśva but his only innovation was the adoption of chastity in the list of four vows of Pārśva. It may be believed on good grounds that Mahāvīra joined and remained for a year with the religious order founded by Pārśva. The members of Pārśva's order used to cover their nakedness by wearing clothes. It is evident from the Jain scriptures that when Mahāvīra adopted the ascetic life, he attached himself to the clothed community of Pārśva. It was only in the second year of his ascetic life that he adopted the strictest observance of absolute nakedness when he fell in with Gośāla, the leader of the Ājīvikas or Terāsiyas.²¹ The two hostile sects, the adherents of Pārśva and Mahāvīra and the adherents of Gośāla, namely the Ājīvikas, were originally closely connected before they came to a parting of the ways.

Throughout his life Pārśva, who got this name, as his mother lying in the dark saw a black snake crawling about by her side, was connected with snakes. So serpent was his cognisance. When he grew up he saved a serpent from grave danger. He also saved a poor terrified snake which took its shelter in a log of wood to

18. S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, pp. 35, 48 ff.

19. The *Pūrvas* were the sacred texts of the Jainas. The oldest known Jain literature consisted of 14 *Pūrvas* and 12 *Āṅgas*. The *Pūrvas* formed the scriptural basis of the *Upāṅgas* and other books of the Jain Canon.

20. Barua, *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, p. 380.

21. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 265.

which a brahmin ascetic was setting fire. In this work Pārśva bore himself with great credit.

The saint Pārśva was the son of king Aśvasena (Āsasena) of Vārāṇasī (Benares) and Queen Vāmā, belonging to the Ikṣvāku race of the Kṣatriyas. He was born in 877 B.C. He was like all Tirthaṅkaras a Kṣatriya. He was a man of practical nature and remarkable for his organising capacity.²² One night Vāmādevī, who was perfectly healthy, while lying on her bed, saw a black snake passing by. She was not at all frightened to see it. She spoke about it to the king who said that she would give birth to a mighty son. In due course a son of great beauty, good qualities and immense knowledge, was born to her. He was named Pārśvakumāra who became famous for his great prowess in his youth. At this time king Prasenajit²³ of Kuśasthala²⁴ tried his best to make his daughter Prabhāvatī well accomplished. Her parents began to search for a suitable bridegroom when she grew up. One day Prabhāvatī while walking in the garden with her maids heard a song in praise of Pārśvakumāra. She then made up her mind to marry him. Attaining puberty she was deeply absorbed in the thought of Pārśvakumāra. Her maids spoke to her parents about her thought, which made her lean and thin. Her weakness was noticed by her parents who sent her to Pārśva. Prabhāvatī won the admiration of every body in her country by virtue of her beauty, good qualities, and immense knowledge. Many good kings desired to marry her. Yavana the king of Kaliṅga was sure of winning her. The news of Prabhāvatī's going to Pārśva spread far and wide. When king Yavana heard of it, he being displeased started for Kuśasthala with a strong army and besieged it. King Prasenajit was very much anxious to save himself from Yavana's powerful army. He sought the help of king Aśvasena of Benares, who when informed of the impending danger of Prasenajit, at once came to his rescue. Before starting with his army towards Kuśasthala, Pārśva enquired of him about the enemy he was going to encounter with. King Aśvasena told him everything and asked him to face the enemy in a battle. King Yavana, on the advice of his old minister, did not wage war against him, as he was too strong a match for him and prayed for forgiveness. Then

22. Barua, *Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, p. 370.

23. Also known as Prasannajita, king of Ayodhyā.

24. It was the same as Kānyakubja or modern Kanauj (*Mahābh.*, 87, 17; *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, VI, 1. 21; *Yoginītantra*, 2. 4; *Harṣacarita*, Ch. VI; *Vinayapitaka*, II, 299, etc.).

Pārśva blessed him and asked him to return to his kingdom. Although Pārśva did not like married life, he was persuaded by her father Prasenajit to marry Prabhāvatī. He afterwards agreed to marry her. After marriage Prabhāvatī was very happy.

One day Pārśva saw many people coming out of the town with baskets full of flowers and learnt on enquiry that an ascetic named Kamaṭha, who kept fire round his seat, engaged himself in a meditation called *Pañcāgni* under the scorching sun. Pārśva came to him with his companion and saw a snake being roasted inside a piece of burning wood. He said, "it is a folly to be engaged in meditation subjecting body to pain. Meditation is one of the accomplishments of religion. Everything is futile except *ahiṃsā*. *Ahiṃsā* or non-harming is the best of all virtues." Kamaṭha replied, "what do you know about *dharma*? You like to mount horses and elephants. Only ascetics like myself know what *dharma* is." On hearing this Pārśva thought thus, "How much conceited are men who know nothing of kindness, yet they think they are practising *dharma*." Then he asked his companion to cut that piece of wood lengthwise. As soon as it was done a snake came almost roasted. Pārśva caused that snake to hear the *navakāraṃ mantra*.²⁵ The snake died immediately and became God Dharanendra who held a serpent's hood over Pārśva. At this Kamaṭha became greatly ashamed. He was very angry, yet he continued his meditation. Soon he died. Pārśva while on his tour came to a hermitage at night and engaged himself in deep meditation at the foot of a tree. He was disturbed while in meditation by a heavy downpour of rain with peels of thunder. Shortly afterwards he obtained *mukṭijñāna*. Many men and women began to lead virtuous life being instructed by him. They formed an establishment which came to be known as the *tīrtha*. Pārśva was called the *Tīrthanāṭhaka* for establishing the *tīrtha*. To the *tīrtha* of Pārśva fifteen *Pratyekabuddhas* belonged, who expounded the sayings of the sages (*Isibhāṣiyas*).²⁶ Parents of Pārśva, Prabhāvatī and other members of the family joined the *Samgha*.²⁷

Pārśva is said to have visited many cities the prominent of which were Ahicchatrā, Āmalakappā, Sāvattihī, Kampillapura,

25. For an idea of this mantra vide S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, pp. 254, 256.

26. *Isibhāṣiyas* or the sayings of the sages consist of 45 chapters. They are the expositions of 45 *Pratyekabuddhas* or individual buddhas (vide *Isibhāṣiya-Saṃgahanī* published at Ruṭlam, 1927).

27. B. C. Law, *Indological Studies*, II, 241-243.

Sāgeya, Rāyagiha and Kosambī.²⁸ Pārśva attained *Nirvāṇa*²⁹ in 777 B.C. stretching out his hands, freed from all pain, on the summit of the Mouth Sammeta (Samneya)³⁰ in the first month of the rainy season in the company of 83 persons after fasting for a month even without drinking water.³¹

As regards the company of 83 persons the Digambaras hold a different view. They say that there was the company of 36 persons only. Pārśva had eight *gaṇas* and eight *gaṇadharas* who were Subha and Āryaghoṣa, Vasiṣṭha and Brahmācārin, Saumya and Śrīdhara, Virabhadra and Yaśas. He had an excellent community of 16000 *Śramaṇas* with Āryadatta at their head, 38000 nuns with Puṣpacūlā at their head, 164000 lay votaries with Suvrata at their head, 327000 female lay votaries with Sunandā at their head,³² 350 sages who knew the four *Pūrvas*, 1400 sages who were possessed of the *avadhi* knowledge,³³ 1000 Kevalins, 1100 sages who could transform themselves, 600 sages of correct knowledge, 1000 male and 2000 female disciples who had reached perfection, 750 sages of vast intellect, 600 professors and 1200 sages in their last birth.³⁴ The Digambara texts differ. According to them there were ten *gaṇas* and ten *gaṇadharas* among whom Svayambhū was the chief apostle. They also differ in giving the number of nuns, laymen and female lay votaries which, according to them, was 26,000, one lac and three lacs respectively.

As a maker of an end Pārśva instituted two epochs: the one relating to generations and the other relating to psychical condition.³⁵ The former ended in the fourth generation and the latter in the third year of his kevalaship.

28. *Ācārāṅga Nirukti*, 335; *Nāyādhammakahāo*, II, 222, 230. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. 18-19, 28, 53, 8, 6, 9, 16, 15, 17, 23, 35.

29. *Kalpasūtra*, 168-169.

30. It was the Mount Sametaśikhara which was thenceforth known as the Pārśvanātha Hill.

31. *Kalpasūtra*, 168.

32. *Ibid.*, 160-164.

33. It is the same as Pali *Anantañāṇa* (*Ang.* IV. p. 428). The knowledge which comprehends the limited world is itself limited in its character. It is the knowledge co-extensive with the object rather than supernatural knowledge (*antavāntena ñāṇena antavantaṃ lokam jānaṃ passam*).

34. *Kālpasūtra*, 166.

35. *Jugapātakaḍabhūmīya pariyāyamtakaḍabhūmīya* (*Kalpasūtra*, 167).

PARŚVANĀTHA: HIS LIFE AND DOCTRINE 19

Many legends have gathered round the saint Pārśva. The *Pārśvanāthacaritra*³⁶ contains many stories, fables and fairy-tales. Winternitz points out that not a few of these stories are known from other Jaina and secular narrative works such as the *Pañcatantra*. The story of king Suvarṇabāhu not only reminds us of the Śakuntala legend but actually reveals an acquaintance of the drama of Kālidāsa.

The life-stories of Pārśva in poetry are many in number. The *Pārśvanāthacaritra* deals not only with the life-story of Pārśvanātha in his last incarnation but also his previous nine existences. This work also contains gnostic sayings both on morality and worldly wisdom. Winternitz has quoted some in his *History of Indian Literature*.³⁷

Pārśva had a disciple named Keśin who completely mastered the sciences and right conduct. He had *śruta* and *avadhi* knowledge.³⁸ He visited the town of Śrāvastī and lived in Tiṇḍuka Park. A Jina named Vardhamāna lived at that time who had Gautama as his famous disciple. Gautama who knew twelve *aṅgas* and who was enlightened, also came to Śrāvastī and lived in the Koṣṭhaka Park. Keśī and Gautama lived protecting themselves by the *guptis*.³⁹ The disciples of both of them thought thus—

- (1) Is the law of Pārśva the right one or the law of Mahāvira?

36. *Pārśvanāthacaritra*—Edited by Hargovindadasa and Becardasa, Benares, 1912. An analysis of this text is given by Bloomfield in his work, *The life and stories of the Jaina savior Pārśvanātha*, Baltimore, 1919. The legend of the saint Pārśvanātha has been edited and translated by Charpentier from Devendraganin's Commentary, ZDMG, 69, 1915, 321-359.

37. Vol. II, p. 515.

38. The former was derived from the sacred texts and the latter was the limited and conditioned knowledge.

39. *Gupti* (Vedic *gupti*) means protection, defence, guard, watchfulness. Cf. *Aṅguttara*, IV, 106 ff.; *Digha*, III, 148. *Guptis* are three in number. Three *guptis* and five *samitis* constitute eight articles of the Jain creed. They are the means of self-control. Cf. *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, XXIV, 1:

Attha pavayaṇamāyāo samūgutti taheva ya |
paṃceva ya samiio tao guttio āhiyā ||

The three *guptis* are the following:

1. preventing mind from sensual pleasure by engaging it in contemplation, study, etc.;
2. preventing the tongue from saying bad things by a vow of silence; and
3. putting the body in an immovable posture. (*Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, Ed. Charpentier, pp. 178-181).

(2) Does the law of Pārśva recognise four vows?

(3) Does the law forbid clothes for a monk or does it allow the use of under and upper garments?

Knowing the thoughts of their disciples Keśi and Gautama met each other. Asked by Keśi, Gautama replied, "Wisdom recognises the truth of the law and the ascertainment of true things. The Tīrthaṅkaras have fixed what is necessary for carrying out the law. The first saints were simple but slow of understanding, the last saints prevaricating and slow of understanding, those between the two, simple and wise; hence there are two forms of the law. The first could but with difficulty understand the precepts of the law and the last could only with difficulty observe them but those between them easily understood and observed them.⁴⁰ Their view is that knowledge, faith and right conduct are the true causes of final liberation. Self is the one invincible foe together with four cardinal passions (anger, pride, deceit, and greed) and the five senses. Love, hatred etc. are heavy fetters;⁴¹ attachment is a dangrous one; having regularly destroyed them one should live according to the rules of conduct. Love of existence is dreadful. Passions are the fire,⁴² which should be subdued. One should govern the unruly mind by the discipline of the law. The heterodox and the heretics have chosen a wrong path. The right path as pointed out by the Jinās is the most excellent. Old age and death carry away living beings.⁴³ The law is the refuge and the most excellent shelter. The omniscient Jina has risen after destroying the circle of births. He is the luminary who brings light into the whole world of living beings. *Nirvāṇa* is the safe, happy and quiet place which the great sages reach. It is freedom from pain and is difficult of approach.⁴⁴ The sages who have got it are free from sorrows and they have put an end to the stream of existence. In this way Gautama succeeded in winning over Keśi to his side by removing his doubts. Keśi then adopted the law of five vows proclaimed by the first Tīrthaṅkara Rīṣabha. In the meeting of Keśi and Gautama the subjects of the greatest importance, such as the

40. *Jaina sūtras*, II, 122-23.

41. Cf. *Dhammapada*, V. 211.

42. Cf. *Dhammapada*, V. 251.

43. *Jarā ca maccu ca āyuraṃ pācenti pāṇinam*—*Dhammapada*, V. 135.

44. Cf. *Visuddhimagga*, p. 612; *Sumaṅgalav.* I, 217; *Vinaya*, I, 8. *Vinaya*, II, 156; *Dhammapada*, V. 204 etc. *Law, Concepts of Buddhism*, Ch. XI,

five *mahāvratas* of Mahāvīra and the *cāujjāmadhammu* of Lord Pārśva, and the *acelakatva* propounded by Mahāvīra and the *sacelakatva* of Pārśva were settled, and knowledge and virtuous conduct were brought into eminence.⁴⁵ This meeting also brought about the union of the old branch of the Jain Church and the new one.⁴⁶ It was through Keśi the followers of Pārśva accepted the discipleship of Mahāvīra according to the *Rāyapasenaiya sūya*.

Charpentier in the Introduction to his edition of the *Uttarādhyayana sūtra* (p. 46) rightly points out that a kernel of real old tradition is preserved in the chapter XXIII of the *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, concerning the differences in opinion between the two ancient divisions of the church. According to him the followers of Pārśva seem to have observed somewhat less severe rules of asceticism than those of Mahāvīra. The historical importance of the dialogue between Keśi and Gautama lies not only in the contrast sharply drawn between the two orders but also in the necessity felt for amalgamating them into one order.⁴⁷

As a happy result of the amalgamation of the two orders, the oldest known Jain literature came to consist of the fourteen *Pūrvas* and the twelve *Āṅgas*. Pārśva's doctrine of the six classes of living beings served as the basis of Mahāvīra's doctrine of six *leśyās*.⁴⁸

The *Bhagavatī sūtra* (I. 76)⁴⁹ refers to a dispute between Kālāsavesiyaputta, a follower of Pārśva, and a disciple of Mahāvīra. It ends with the former's begging permission to stay with him after having changed the law of the four vows for the law of the five vows enjoining compulsory confession.⁵⁰ It is surely a supplement to the *Uttarādhyayana* dialogue between Keśi and Gautama as representatives of the two Jain orders, old and new. The *Nāyādharmakahāo* (II. i. 222 ff) tells us that Kālī, an old

45. *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, XXIII, 1-89.

46. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VII, p. 466.

47. *Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings*, p. 47.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 48. *Leśyā* is the term signifying colour (*Sūtralekhāṅga*, I, 6, 13). The classification of living beings in terms of six colours may be traced in Pārśva's doctrine of six *Jivanikāyas* (*Ācārāṅga*, II, 15, 16; Cf. Law, *Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings*, p. 104).

49. Vide also Weber, *Fragment der Bhāgavatī*, p. 185.

50. "Tujjhaṃ antiē cātujjāmāto dhammāto paṃcamahāvvaiaṃ sapaḍik-kamaṇaṃ dhammaṃ uvasampajjitta naṃ viharittae."—(to stay with you after having changed the law of four vows for the law of the five vows enjoining compulsory confession) Cf. *Silāṅka's commentary on the Ācārāṅga sūtra*, Calcutta ed., p. 331.

maiden (*vaḍḍakumārī*), joined Pārśva's order and was entrusted to Pupphacūlā, the head of the nuns. The two sisters of Uppalā joined the order of Pārśva but being unable to lead the rigid life of the order they became brahmin *parivrājikās* (female wanderers). Municanda, a follower of Pārśva, lived in a potter's shop in *Kumārāya-sannivesa* in company of his disciples. Vijāyā and Pagabbhā, the two female disciples of Pārśva, saved Mahāvīra and Gosāla in *Kūviya-sannivesa*.⁵¹ The *Bhagavatī sūtra* (IX. 32) refers to Gāṅgeya, a follower of Pārśva in Vāṇiyagāma. He gave up four vows of Pārśva and adopted the five *mahāvratas* of Mahāvīra. The *Nāyādhammakahāo* (19. p. 218) mentions Puṇḍariya who accepted four vows of Pārśva. The followers of Pārśva moved in a company of five hundred monks in the city of Tuṅgiya.⁵² A number of lay women joined Pārśva's order.⁵³ The *Rāyapasenaiyasūya* (147 ff.) refers to a follower of Pārśva named Keśī. He visited Seyaviyā (Setavyā) where a discussion took place regarding the identity of soul and body between Keśī and Paesi, who being convinced of his opponent's doctrine, became an adherent of the *samaṇas*. A follower of Pārśva named Udaka of the Medāryagotra, son of Peḍhāla, met Gautama the famous disciple of Mahāvīra, who spoke thus, "As long as a man does not control himself, he does not renounce injury to living beings. Beings belong to the circle of births; if they be now immovable beings, they will (sometime) become movable ones; when they leave the bodies of movable beings, they will be born in the bodies of immovable ones. It is a sin to kill them when they are born in the bodies of movable beings. There are some men who live in woods and huts, who are not well-controlled, and who do not abstain from killing living beings, they are born in some places inhabited by the evil doers. It has never happened nor will it ever happen that all movable beings will die out and become immovable ones and *vice versa*." At last Udaka expressed his desire to part with the creed enjoining four vows preached by Pārśva for the five vows of Mahāvīra. Gautama was successful in winning over Udaka to his side.⁵⁴ From this dialogue between Udaka and Gautama it appears that the followers of Pārśva and the disciples of Mahāvīra were respectively known as the Nigaṇṭha Kumāraputtas and the Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputtas.

51. *Avāśyakacūṛṇī*, p. 291.

52. *Bhagavatī sūtra*, 2-5.

53. *Nāyādhammakahāo*, II, 10.

54. *Sūtraḥṛitāṅga*, II, Lec. 7.

The religion of Pārśva was meant for one and all without any distinction of caste or creed. Pārśva allowed women to enter his order as the Buddha did at the request of Mahāprajāpati Gautamī⁵⁵. He laid stress on the doctrine of *ahiṃsā*. According to him, strict asceticism was the only way for the attainment of salvation. Fundamentally the doctrines of Pārśva and Mahāvīra were the same. Only points of difference were concerning vows and garments. Pārśva preached four vows instead of five. He allowed an under and upper garment (*santaruttaro*) but Mahāvīra⁵⁶ forbade clothing altogether. Mahāvīra seems to be the first exponent of nakedness. It is interesting to find the monks of the order of Pārśva practising *Jinakappa*.⁵⁷ According to Jacobi, the order of Pārśva seems to have undergone some changes in the period between the death of Pārśva and the advent of Mahāvīra.

Parsva's four vows⁵⁸ were the following :—

(1) Abstinence from killing living beings (Cf. the Buddhist *pāṇātipātā veramaṇi* or the avoidance of life-slaughter). It is just another name for pity (*dayā*), forbearance, purity, goodness, welfare, protection, morality, self-control, self-guarding etc., according to the *Pañhāvāgaranāim*.

A Jain is careful in his walk. He searches into his mind and speech. He is careful in laying down his utensils of begging. He eats and drinks after proper inspection.

(2) Avoidance of falsehood (Cf. the Buddhist *musāvādā veramaṇi*).

A Jain speaks after deliberation. He comprehends and renounces anger, greed, fear and mirth.

55. Cf. Vinaya Cullavagga, X, 1.

56. Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, XXIII, 13; cf. Vinaya Mahāvagga, VIII, 14, 2.

57. Jain, *Life in ancient India as described in the Jain Canons*, 27.

58. The *Pañhāvāgaranāim* (*Praśna-Vyākaraṇānī*) explains the great moral vows of the Jains. The first four represented the four principles of self-restraint as prescribed by Pārśva for his followers. Although the enumeration of the principles is somewhat different, they are all important to both the Jain and Buddhist systems. In the Jain presentation a greater emphasis is laid on the side of abstinence from impious acts, while in the Buddhist presentation much stress is laid on the positive aspect of virtues. It is not enough that a person abstains from doing a misdeed in as much as a progressive man is expected to cultivate and develop friendliness, truthfulness, honest life, etc. The difference seems to be one of degree and not of kind. (See also Law, *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, pp. 62-63).

(3) 'Avoidance of theft (*adinnādānā veramaṇi*).

A Jain begs after deliberation for a limited space. He consumes his food and drink with the permission of his superiors. He who has taken possession of some space should always take possession of a limited part of it and for a fixed time.⁵⁹ He may beg for a limited ground for his co-religionists after deliberation.

(4) Freedom from possessions (Cf. the Buddhist *jātarūpara-jatapaṭiggahaṇā veramaṇi*).

The non-hankering after worldly possessions may be internal and external. The external hankering is an obstacle to religious practices and the internal hankering leads a person to the incorrectness of method, recklessness, thoughtlessness and moral contaminations, according to the *Paṇḥāvūgaranāṁ*.

If a living being hears agreeable or disagreeable sounds,⁶⁰ sees forms, smells,⁶¹ tastes things and feels touches,⁶² he should not be attached to them.

According to some these are the restraints in Jainism.⁶³

To these four vows of Pārśva, the vow of chastity, was later added by Mahāvīra. This he did by dividing the vow of property into two parts: —

One relating to women and the other relating to material possessions. The Ājīvika leader Gośāla's conduct led Mahāvīra to add the vow of chastity to the four vows of Pārśva.

The Pāli *Cātuyāmasaṃvara* (*Cātuyāma-susaṃvuto*)⁶⁴ which is equivalent to Prakrit *Cātuyyāma* or *Cāujjāma*, denoting four vows of Pārśva, was undoubtedly a phraseology of the religion of Pārśva

59. Cf. *Anguttara*, I, 205. This is known in Theravāda Buddhism as *Nigaṇṭhuposatho*.

60. Cf. Buddhist *naccagītavāditavisūkadassanā veramaṇi*.

61. Cf. Buddhist *mālāgandhavilepanadhāraṇamaṇḍanaṇvibhūsanatṭhānā-veramaṇi*.

62. Cf. *Anguttara*, III, 99-100—*So cakkhunā rūpaṃ disvā na nimittagāhi hoti nānuvyañjanaggāhi, yadvādikaraṇaṃ eṇaṃ cakkhundriyaṃ asaṃvutaṃ viharantaṃ abhiññā domanassā pāpakā akusalā dhammā anvāssavēyyuṃ tassa saṃvarāya paṭipajjati, rakkhati cakkhundriyaṃ cakkhuṇḍriye saṃvaraṃ āpajjati. Sotena saddaṃ sutvā ghāṇena gandhaṃ ghāyitvā ... jivhāya rasam sāyitvā kāyena potṭhabbaṃ phusitvā ... manasā dhammaṃ viññāyā na nimittagāhi hoti nānuvyañjanaggāhi.*

63. *Sūtrakritāṅga*, II, 7, 17.

64. *Samyutta*, I, p. 66. Cf. *Dīgha*, III, p. 49—*Cātuyāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto*.

but it acquired altogether a new connotation with the followers of Mahāvīra. Some think that by the fourfold self-restraint the Buddhist author has simply expressed the four characteristics of a Jaina recluse.⁶⁵ A correct representation of the fourfold self-restraint even in the sense in which the followers of Pārśva understood it, is not wanting in Buddhist literature.

Rhys Davids is wrong in his statement that Jacobi thinks that the four restraints are intended to represent the four vows kept by the followers of Pārśva.⁶⁶ Jacobi has not said this in his *Jaina sūtras* (S.B.E.) II, xxiii to which Rhys Davids refers.⁶⁷

According to the *Dīgha Nikāya*⁶⁸ a nigaṇṭha lives restrained as regards all water; restrained as regards all evils; all evils he has washed away and he lives suffused with the sense of evil held at bay. Such is the fourfold self-restraint and since he is thus tied with this fourfold bond, therefore is he the *nigaṇṭho* (free from bonds), *gatatto* (whose heart is gone, that is to, the summit, to the attainment of his aim), *yatto* (whose heart is under control) and *thitatto* (whose heart is fixed) according to the commentator Buddhaghosa.⁶⁹ The Buddha explained the term differently when he explained it on his own account. By the four-fold self-restraint he meant the four moral precepts, each of which is viewed in its fourfold aspect. The four precepts and self-privation are the recognised roads to the blissful state of the soul.⁷⁰ Regarding the first of the four restraints the Buddhist commentator Buddhaghosa thought that the Jains did not drink cold water because there were souls in it. The Hatthitāpasas used to kill every year one elephant for the purpose of food on the ground that they thereby minimised the slaughter of life.⁷¹ The Jaina house-holder Upālī pointed out that his Master considered every act of killing a demerit, whether the act be intentional or not. The Buddha held the view that it was impossible to abstain from killing for even in moving about a

65. Law, *Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings*, 13-14.

66. *Dialogues of Buddha*, S.B.B., II, p. 75. f. n. 1.

67. S.B.B., II, p. 75. f.n. 1.

68. "Nigaṇṭho sabbavārī-vārīto ca hoti, sabba-vārī yuto ca, sabbavārī dhuuto ca, sabba-vārī phuttoca. Evam ... nigaṇṭho cātu-yāmasaṃvara-saṃvuto hoti ... ayaṃ vuccati ... nigaṇṭho gatatto ca yatatto ca thitatto cāti" (*Dīgha*, I, p. 57).

69. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, p. 168 — Gatatto = Koṭippatta-citto. Yatatto = Samyata citto. Thitatto = Suppatiṭṭhito citto.

70. *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, pp. 35-36.

71. *Jaina Sūtras*, II, 418.

man was bound to kill many lives. The Jainas took exception to the Buddhist view.⁷²

The image of Pārśvanātha found in a temple on the Paresnath Hill in the district of Hazaribagh, represents the saint sitting naked in the attitude of meditation. His head is protected by the snake which is his special emblem. According to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (pp. 11-13) there was in ancient times an image of Pārśvanātha at Campā in the suburb of Ratnākara. It was worshipped by Sohamma Vāsava and the daughter of Videha with Raghupuṅgava and Śakra. Kriṣṇa installed an image of Pārśva on a sanctified spot in the town of Śaṅkhapura. He worshipped the image after installing it in a temple. The sea engulfed the temple and the image. The image of the Lord Pārśva was rescued by a merchant of the town of Kānti and was taken to his native town. After the death of this merchant, Nāgārjuna, the chief of the saints, brought the image home for subduing passions; hence the place was called *Stambhanakhatīrtha*. Much merit is gained by the sight of the image of Pārśvanātha.

72. *Ibid.*, II, 414-417; Law, *Historical Gleanings*, pp. 30-31.

Dutch Voyages to Malabar 1644-59

BY

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Thanks to the forceful leadership of Antonie van Diemen who assumed office as Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies in 1636, the foundations were laid of a profit-yielding trade in Malabar by reason of the contracts concluded with Malabar princes. And, as in all other places in the East Indies, the United East India Company of the Dutch had here (in Malabar) only to reap under his successor Cornelis van der Lijn what had been sown by Van Diemen.

Henceforward, there departed annually from Batavia a number of ships *via* Galle in Ceylon to Malabar during the favourable monsoon with a view to secure pepper by bartering the Company's wares for the same. A mighty mounting up in barter and profits was discerned, a mounting up which hardly ceased when the armistice with Portugal came to an end in 1652. Already, the *Arent* and the *Waterhout*, which had sailed out from the Netherlands while the negotiations about the armistice with Portugal were proceeding, brought to Batavia a consignment of 253 lasts of pepper purchased by Dirck Schoorl at Cannanore, Kayamkulam, Calicut, Purakkad and Quilon. Because of lack of goods to be bartered, there remained unbought as many as 159 lasts. Schoorl had held out before the small kings of Malabar the armistice concluded between the Dutch Republic and Portugal and offered to place them under the protection of the United East India Company, but this aroused little response. The princes appeared to make little of it so that the affair, for the time being, remained unheeded. The Zamorin paid a portion of his debt, but a very considerable balance remained unpaid.

Expectations of the Malabar trade were stretched so high at Batavia that two ships were not considered sufficient for the purpose. Besides the *Arent* and the *Noordster* which were appointed for that trade in 1645, a third ship, the fly-boat *Overschie*, was now commissioned to take the pepper. The cargoes represented a value of 74,431 and odd guilders. Schoorl and Van Serooskercken who were entrusted with the direction of the trade hoped to acquire

here a consignment of 500 lasts of pepper. The wares were the usual barter goods which in previous years had yielded profits on the Malabar Coast. These were, spices, cloves, mace and nutmegs, tin, lead, Japanese iron, refined sandalwood, vermilion, quicksilver and a small quantity of red coral while the cargoes were replenished from Surat by opium and cotton. These two last-named articles were the most marketable articles on the Malabar Coast and it was from these that the greatest profit was obtained. Presents and letters for the Malabar princes were to serve for the confirmation of the contracts concluded by Pieter Sybrandtsz Groes. With a courteous but somewhat threatening note mollified by some presents (one roll Chinese lac, spices and a sword), the Zamorin was once more dunned for the final and full settlement of his debt. If payment was not made, the Company would obtain their demand in another way and go and trade elsewhere which indeed they had already commenced to do. The Company's threats made very little impression on the ruler of Calicut. He declared that owing to the war he was unable to indemnify the Company. The old friend of the United East India Company on the Malabar Coast, the king of Kayamkulam, likewise received presents for the maintenance of his good inclination towards the Company.

From the king of Quilon, Schoorl had, during his previous voyage, received an offer of free trade and a place to build a fort. This prince was also given presents. Yet, at the outset, the Dutch did not hear that pepper cargoes were acquired in this land. The influence of the Portuguese prevailed here. They possessed a well-built fort which was strong enough to hinder the Dutch, but owing to their great lack of capital the Portuguese purchases were very little.

Against the king of Purakkad, the Company had grave complaints. Cargoes and presents were sent to this land for the confirmation of the treaty of 1643, but the presents were not conveyed in ships nor the Dutch merchants received in audience. It could not be otherwise as there were again the intrigues of the Portuguese who with their usual lies had made the Dutch odious to the king. The latter was expostulated with as to the great benefits he could realise from the armistice between the Portuguese and the Dutch if he declared himself an ally of the United East India Company. Van Serooskercken who traded at Cannanore had, if he were to retain the favour of Mamaly Craa, Chief of the Moplahs, to grant him credit notwithstanding the bad experiences which the Dutch had in this matter with the Zamorin.

In June 1646 both the fly-boat the *Noordster* and the *Overschie* and the *Yacht Arent* arrived at Batavia with a cargo of 410 lasts of pepper purchased for 181,161 and odd guilders. A clear gain of 73,696 and odd guilders was made, the pepper with all expenses having cost only upwards of 3½ stuivers per pound. In comparison with the previous years when the profits at the highest amounted only to 23,092 guilders during a voyage, this was a handsome result.

Dirck Schoorl therefore gave to his superiors so bright a picture of the possibilities of the Malabar Coast that the latter expected, for the following year, cargo of at least 800 lasts. The Governor-General and Councillors hoped in the long run to acquire the entire pepper trade of the Coast, to push away the Portuguese and to give no chance to the English to trade. More shipping was necessary for this than they had hitherto made available for the Malabar voyage. Besides the ship *Maastricht* and the *Yachts Ackersloot* and *Acchterkercke* with a cargo of the value of 120,165 and odd guilders (30,000 reels in specie and the rest merchandise) the ship *Banda* was also despatched for the Malabar trade. This ship was to fetch at Malacca a cargo of tin, a commodity which had always found good purchasers on the Coast, and now that the tin-land, Malacca, was since the conquest of 1641 in the hands of the United East India Company, this commodity had not to be supplied from far. For the purpose of their pepper trade the Malabar voyagers henceforth decided that besides Ceylon Malacca also should furnish cargoes of tin. From Kayalpatnam where the Company had established themselves recently (end of 1645), the United East India Company hoped they could import tobacco to the Malabar Coast. Van Serooskercken was to buy at Kayalpatnam 1400 to 1500 bundles which the High Government hoped would fetch a profit of 35 to 40%.

The task of the Malabar navigators was divided so that Dirck Schoorl, the leader of the expedition, with the ship *Maastricht*, looked after the trade in Kayamkulam, Purakkad and surrounding places while Van Serooskercken, with the ship *Ackersloot*, carried on trade at Cannanore and the neighbourhood. As well against the Portuguese who in spite of the armistice were yet very little to be trusted as against the Malabar pirates had Schoorl and Van Serooskercken to be on the guard. It was desired to maintain as little intercourse with the Portuguese as possible and to refuse passage to them on Dutch ships.

This year it was firmly decided that they should carry into effect the threats against the Zamorin if the payment did not take place in the least and to lift from one of the Zamorin's ships the pepper which was due from him. The United East India Company was tired of having had to wait so long for pepper in exchange of the costly barter goods already delivered.

The pepper yield did not in any way satisfy their high strung expectations. Both at Cannanore where Serooskercken obtained 83 lasts pepper and had to take for the rest of his barter goods cash which he was to exchange for pepper at Kayamkulam and at the latter place also the pepper harvest turned out to be very bad.

Eventually in June 1647 the ships *Maastricht*, *Ackersloot* and *Banda* brought to Batavia only 340 (or 384) lasts instead of 800 lasts. This year the profit was only 34,171 and odd guilders which was considerably smaller than that of 1646. As the new pepper crop on the Malabar Coast was good and the cargoes which the Dutch had brought with them remained long unsold, the merchants Schoorl and Van Serooskercken left behind, under proper protection, an undermerchant, Jacob Cranenburg, on the Coast. He was to buy at Kayamkulam in good time pepper for the remaining cargoes i.e., for 81,807 and odd guilders so that, when they returned, a good ship load would be ready for serving as return cargo to the Netherlands. This was thus the first time that the Dutch obtained on the coast a permanent establishment.

Till now the cargoes for Malabar had always contained a certain quantity of spices from the Moluccas. Of this the Company possessed the monopoly and they could themselves fix the price. They considered this of very great value and larded with cash. The navigators of Malabar were to view this costly commodity as capable of producing gain and were not to sell it cheaper than in Surat and Coromandel so that the market in those places be not damaged. If the Indian merchants did not desire to buy the spices at such a high price, they had to let the pepper remain stored up in the warehouses until the merchants finally realised that the Company was not timid about their clientele.

A number of complaints reached the High Government from their factories that the Company's sale of spices made those commodities unsaleable in their settlements. The inland merchants who bought the spices on the Malabar Coast conveyed this across the Sea to Wingurla, Surat, Mocha as also to Coromandel (this by taking a short cut overland) and offered both

these spices as also the Malabar pepper for lower prices than the Company asked for this. Even though the prices in Malabar were like those in other settlements, the Company's prices remained high as the Indians were not eager for such high profits as the United East India Company and were mostly but small hawkers whose expenses of transport were only slight. They were contented if they but obtained what was necessary for their maintenance. A considerable portion of those spices purchased by inland merchants found their way through the Arabian Sea to Mocha and there they not only spoiled the market but also caused the danger of their being transported to Europe. In 1649 the United East India Company decided to send no more spices to Malabar as they gave only a smaller profit than those conveyed to Mocha. The actual reasons were kept strictly concealed from the Indians and the suspension of the supply was to be attributed to the poor harvest. The following year they had to turn back from this policy as the Indians showed no inclination to buy the Company's other wares without spices to buy in exchange of pepper.

In particular the new Malabar trade gave offence to the Director of Surat who saw in this a competition caused to his factory. While the spices in sufficient measure were sold in his factory for reasonable profits, people began to sell this on the Malabar Coast at lower prices and by so doing sent him a smaller quantity apart further from the loss caused during these years to the voyage to Mocha undertaken from Surat.

But the head of Wingurla also saw a new competitor the more in Malabar where it was the rule of conduct of the Company to keep the trade of this factory (Wingurla) as small as possible and only make that factory serve as a watchpost for Goa and the actions of the Portuguese there. As has already been explained, the Company's original attempts to begin lucrative trade here were not crowned with success and the proposals of the later heads who insisted on the augmentation of the trade were let down by the High Council of Batavia. Neither Sterthemius nor Otto Houckgeest who presumably anticipated with their plans large profits for themselves had any success. Both recommended warmly the services of the great merchants of Wingurla, Narsanna and Krishna Annawwy, a pair of brothers who dominated the trade in the Bijapur kingdom. These merchants, afraid that the Company would transfer their trade wholly to the Malabar Coast, offered to the United East India Company a contract to deliver annually, as happened on the Malabar Coast, pepper against

exchange goods. Large quantities could be purchased here and as Sterthemius proposed to his masters neither Surat nor Coromandel should suffer because of this while he looked forward to an enlargement of the trade of Wingurla and a diminution of the native competition in European goods. Sterthemius showed to the Governor-General and Council that by the expansion of the Wingurla trade the Dutch could best compete with the trade of the English which in 1647 and 1648 displayed a greater activity in spreading on the West Coast of India proper. Besides pepper, the Wingurla merchants promised to supply the Company with cowries through the inception of trade with the Maldive islands. It was better that the United East India Company retailed exchange goods in Wingurla than that the natives bought these goods from the Netherlanders in other places and threw them on the market at prices lower than those of the Company.

As Sterthemius well understood that the suspension of the Malabar trade for the benefit of Wingurla was out of the question, he wished to make attractive to his superiors a plan for amalgamating into one both trade regions. With a contract with the merchants they were at least sure of a large shipment of pepper while much reliance could not be placed on the Malabar pepper. To what extent reliance could be placed on the trustworthiness of the Wingurla merchants, who were rather inclined already to break their promises for the purpose of giving pepper to those who offered most, was an open question which was surely not answered with absolute certainty by the Governor-General and Councillors.

As soon as these plans came to the ears of the Director of Surat, he, fearing that, through such an increase of the Wingurla trade, that of Surat would come to nought and that the Company's wares there would remain unsold, protested. The offers of the Wingurla merchants were rejected. But now the latter entered, into a contract with Mamaly Craa whereby they in return for opium and cotton purchased all the merchandise which the Moplah chieftain got from the Dutch at Cannanore. As the Wingurla merchants could exchange their opium and cotton in an advantageous manner, they could also sell the exchange goods originally imported by the Dutch to the Coast at a lower price than the Dutch could do at Wingurla and elsewhere. Their competition was at work likewise at Cannanore where the market was glutted by reason of their transport of opium and cotton and the Dutch remained waiting with their goods.

Sterthemius's successor, Otto Houckgeest, found with his superiors a no more favourable audience in the matter of expanding the trade according to his desire. His request for transfer was therefore all the more willingly granted by the High Government. It was indeed a pity that they replaced him by Jacob Bacheracht who came with no plans and proposals, but, without the previous knowledge of his masters, advanced a large sum to the Bijapur merchant princes, Krishna Annawy and Narsanna, for their trade and besides carried on an extensive private trade. Further, this Bacheracht in no way satisfied the requirements of a competent upper head. During the tenure of his leadership it came to very serious trouble with the native population so that Wingurla had to be evacuated and the Company's settlements had to be removed to the adjacent Salsette. It was Rijcklof van Goens who during the time of his visitation of the Dutch factories in India proper in 1653-54 put in order the affairs of Wingurla.

We now turn back to the Malabar navigators. Under the direction of Schoorl and Van Serooskercken the ship *Banda* and the Yachts *Ackersloot* and *Lillo* sailed from Batavia on the 15th September 1647 for getting into the hands of the Dutch the largest portion of the pepper of Malabar. A fourth ship was to appear on the Malabar Coast in February 1648 after proceeding on a voyage to Surat and Persia. Thus there was enough shipping and the High Government hoped to see brought to Batavia 850 lasts. Not less than 250 soldiers went with this squadron to be landed ashore in Ceylon for the fortresses of Galle and Negombo. The extent of the cargoes covered a value of 33,147 and odd guilders to which were added the usual merchandise. Opium and tobacco from Coromandel, Surat cotton, cotton yarns, golden reels and Moorish ducats, white cummin and cassomba (an orange red flower of the cardamom tincture used as a dye-stuff for cotton threads, as medicine and as substitute of saffron for colouring food). Just as in the previous year, the trade was divided between Cannanore and Kayamkulam. Besides, Cranenburg who had remained behind had gathered together 150 lasts of pepper which could be shipped immediately on arrival of ships. Cranenburg did not succeed in selling quickly the tobacco from Kayalpatnam which was left behind with the unsold wares. He was forbidden to sell these. Only secretly and for very small profits could he dispose of his stock. Of the ships sent through Batavia, the Yacht *Ackersloot* appeared so wrecked and rotten that it could not proceed on the voyage to the Coast and remained behind at Galle

for repair. It was not the Company's best ships that were used for the Malabar trade. A greater disaster was to follow.

While in March 1648 already the *Banda* was back at Batavia with a pepper cargo of 439,298 pounds, there followed in June and July the *Maastricht*, the *Ackersloot*, the *Salm* and the *Lillo* which brought 416 lasts of pepper bought largely at 3 stuivers the pound. On the whole, a profit of 49,028 and odd guilders was made. Still there remained at Kayamkulam under the direction of Cranenbergh 160 lasts which they could not receive on board because of the severe storms which already prevailed on the Coast. The ship *Maastricht* and the fly boat the *Salm* had traded in great peril and were preserved almost through a miracle. The Malabar voyagers received the express command not to remain in future on the Coast later than 1st May. The Zamorin had at last cleared his old debt. The crop there was good and all things promised a profitable trade for the next year. They hoped to get 600 lasts. During the bad monsoon (rainy season) Cranenbergh must try to exchange goods worth 75,319 and odd guilders for pepper and in particular to take the wind out of the sails of the English.

In 1647 the English at Surat sent the ship the *Falcon* under George Oxenden *via* Mocha along the Malabar Coast for the purchase of pepper at Purakkad, Quilon and Calicut and cinnamon at Cochin. At Calicut, the merchants refused to trade. With the strong Dutch Competition, there was very little to get. Besides, the new Portuguese Viceroy, Philip Mascarenhas, on his voyage from Ceylon to Goa, had renewed all pepper contracts in Malabar and forbidden the sale of cinnamon. As the result of their taking possession of the principal cinnamon lands on Ceylon, the Dutch had become the owners of such large quantities of cinnamon that they had not only enough for their return cargo but also provided all Indian lands with what they needed. For the English no more advantages could be secured here.

Nevertheless in 1648 also the English *Blessing* sailed again under Oxenden to Malabar with a cargo consisting for the most part of coral. Connections with the Princes who had made proposals of trade during the previous voyage of the *Falcon* were to be negotiated. But the English felt so little secure in the Malabar land that they dared not leave their ship and caused the negotiations to take place through their broker.

Also, the *Blessing* obtained a poor result and many years elapsed before they perceived anything of the interference of the

English in Malabar. Attempts to carry on trade in Wingurla where the English desired to found an establishment at Carra-patnam 10 miles north of Wingurla made little progress. To drive the English, the Governor-General and Council deviated from their policy in respect of Wingurla and permitted the purchase of a small quantity of pepper for very high prices.

The Courten's Association did not on the whole do anything worth speaking about. Courten himself escaped from his creditors to the mainland and there died. Not the least help was to be expected from England. The agents formed a small isolated group in a foreign hostile land without any pecuniary resources. At the outset they endeavoured to keep their heads above water by appearing as freighters for the natives. In 1648 their position was so bad that they came to supplicate help in the Dutch lodge at Wingurla. They had not any more the least credit among the Indian merchants. If the Dutch did not help them and did not at least give them a loan of money for their daily expenses they would, to the great shame and disparagement of the Christian nations, it was represented, have to fall with great misery into the hands of the heathens. The Old English Company refused all help. The Dutch Company also dismissed this request of Courten's Association, much less were they inclined to give them their passage to Europe in Dutch ships. The United East India Company had no desire to incur loss and ingratitude nor did they entertain any nobler sentiments to their once highly troublesome competitors than their own countrymen. In 1649 the last of the Courten's Association to remain on the Malabar Coast was removed to Masulipatam.

The Malabar voyagers who on their return voyage to Batavia had touched at Kayalpatnam had suffered much. They were expelled with such a haste and violence that the Dutch had to leave behind everything and all were in danger of being murdered. Scarcely could they save the *Lillo* which had just arrived. But the fact that beside the obloquy it also involved the Company in great financial loss made it necessary for this to be avenged. Otherwise, there was a chance that the United East India Company would altogether lose its influence on the Madura Coast as also on the Malabar Coast, at Karikal and other places and such events would occur there. Therefore the High Government charged Maetsuycker, Governor of Ceylon, to undertake a punitive expedition against the prince of Madura. 150 soldiers were sent from Batavia with the ship *Nassau*. They were to be reinforced by 250

white soldiers and 100 lascars from the garrison of Galle and Negombo. Other ships and also the vessels destined for Malabar were also to be used for this purpose. Through the punitive expedition, the Nayk was to be compelled to conclude a treaty and make reparations. The forces reached Kayalpatnam on the 9th February. But the Dutch noted that the foremost ringleaders of this knavery had fled to the interior with all their movables. At the hands of the natives who remained behind, the Dutch received a friendly and respectful reception everywhere on the Coast. Unasked they brought all possible refreshments to the ships. On these simple people the Company could hardly vent their revenge. The Dutch hoped that they could return to Kayalpatnam and that they would not be made hateful to the inhabitants. The old and very renowned temple at Trichendur was besieged by the Dutch. In this pagoda they found an image of the war god Subrahmanya. The occupation of the temple made a deep impression on the Hindu population. A multitude of people neither ate nor drank on that sad day. Afterwards the Dutch marched along the entire Madura Coast. Everywhere they were received with great honour and friendship, also at Tuticorin. But the Dutch no more wished to turn back without accomplishing their object. And therefore they decided at least to have some satisfaction—a certain sum of money as ransom from the people and the towns i.e. the Hindus and the Parravas, the native Christians with whom the United East India Company was to have so much trouble and bother. The Muhammodans remained exempted from this penalty because at all times they had shown themselves friendly disposed towards the Dutch trade and had rendered all possible help to the Company's servants in their expeditions along the Coast. From the Hindus the Dutch asked 100,000 Reals, and the inhabitants of Tuticorin were to give 40,000 Reals. If they did not pay, all their temples and houses were to be burnt. This happened to the Hindu portion of the town of Tuticorin when the natives refused to pay. From the temple of Trichendur certain images were taken as Security. Among them was that of the god Subrahmanya.

Sometime later, when all was again forgiven and forgotten, the Dutch who wanted to make a business transaction of everything and were eager to get the ransom which had yet to be paid offered to sell this image to the "blind men" on the Madura Coast for a good sum of money, but this did not take effect, the first zeal of the Hindus for the good having grown faint. This bargain with the image of an idol was considered as something awful by the

authorities of the Company in the Netherlands who judged this to be unChristian.

The clergy in the Catholic section of Tuticorin had accepted the terms of the United East India Company but could not raise among themselves the required sum before the stipulated date as the head of the Parravas, the Patangatins, had fled, an example followed by the most prosperous of these peoples. The Portuguese clergy proposed to the Dutch, as the Pantangatins did not return, to open their houses, pay-offices and chests and to take from them what would serve for abatement of their debts. The Rector of the College of the Jesuits even gave to the Netherlanders a sum of money deposited with him belonging to another which the Pantagatins on their return must make good to its owner. But other than this money almost nothing of value was found in the town and the Dutch soldiers and Ceylonese lascars betook themselves to plundering, a course of action which the above said inhabitants considered as caused by none else than those who without reason had become fugitives and abandoned their houses—verily a weak defence of this hard action. The Portuguese whose properties were no more spared showed themselves very indignant. They lodged a protest through their envoy at the Hague with the States-General—a protest which according to the Dutch was entirely lacking in justification as Tuticorin was governed by the Nayk and the plundered churches and cloisters belonged to the St. Thomas Christians apart from the fact that the Dutch attributed all their disasters to Portuguese instigation.

Everywhere in the neighbourhood as also on the Malabar Coast, the chastisement given to the people of Madura had made a deep impression. Every one gaped with mouth wide open not knowing where to draw breath. Meanwhile Jacob Cranenburg awaited with impatience the ships which were to relieve him of the pepper which was stored in a far from fire-free warehouse thatched with *olas* (palm-leaves). The *Maastricht*, it is true, took no part in the punitive expedition but was sent first to Surat and Persia. Cranenburg sent an assistant to Cochin for the purpose of obtaining help from Dutch ships passing by. This had to be done in the utmost secrecy so that no suspicion might be aroused in Portuguese minds. Between Cochin and Purakkad a war had broken out as a consequence of which unrest prevailed throughout the Malayalam country and Cranenburg felt little safety any more at Kayamkulam. With the capture of Purakkad which was besieged by the king of Cochin, Cranenburg feared that the United East India

Company would therewith lose all the contracted pepper as the king of Cochin would reduce the whole place to ashes.

As a result of the punitive expedition to Kayalpatnam, the inland trade and voyage from Malabar to the bay of Madura was obstructed. The merchants who otherwise came to the Malabar Coast to buy the cotton which was the raw material of their cloths had fled inland for fear of the Dutch, and so Cranenburg could hardly find buyers for his stock of cotton.

The Chetty merchants of Kayamkulam who had much business at Manapara had requested the Dutch not to burn that place. Cranenburg supported this request as he was afraid that as reprisal the Dutch lodge at Kayamkulam would be burned.

The cargoes with which the Dutch navigators to Malabar eventually came to that Coast represented a value of 33,878 and odd guilders. With this should also be included the wares which the *Maastricht* brought from Surat.

The trade was carried on again entirely as in previous years, but in place of the expected 600 lasts only 412 lasts were brought to Batavia by the fly boat the *Eendracht* on the 22nd May and the *Maastricht* on the 10th June 1649. The gain obtained amounted to 43,500 and odd guilders (pepper against 3 stuivers a pound). The debt of the Zamorin was now fully paid.

The Governor-General and Council were not satisfied with the Junior Merchant Cranenburg whose books showed a shortage of a good 1000 guilders. He had to be examined as to whether he had not handled matters maliciously. After doing business, this servant of the Company came back to Batavia. His place was taken by Mattheus van den Broeck. Because the pepper crop there was very good and people counted on an abundant harvest, Van den Broeck remained behind on the Coast with a remainder of barter goods of the value of about 100,000 guilders (93,662 guilders) "under the good security" of three assistants and 6 soldiers. To speak now of a military occupation as MacLeod does (Vol. II, page 389) is somewhat premature, but in any case it shows the firm intention of the Company not to evacuate this field for their competitors. The United East India Company hoped to store still larger pepper stock than in the previous year. For the sailing of the return ships to the Netherlands, people at Batavia desired to obtain a fly boat full of cargo. There was no fear of the competition of the Portuguese who were entirely without means.

For the vigorous continuation of the pepper trade, the High Government sent to Malabar in the year 1649 the fly ship *Uitgeest* with a cargo worth 44,655 guilders. The *Maastricht* which was first to proceed to Siam and Surat to bring again along with it the necessary barter goods from the latter place was to follow while the *Snoek* was to collect from Ceylon the rest of the pepper. For the first time they found no spices in the cargoes sent from Batavia. While every year an accurate assessment of the value of goods loaded at Batavia was given, this was not the case with regard to the supply received on this occasion from Malacca, Surat, Wingurla Coromandel and Bengal. Of these goods, only the quantity was mentioned but without an expression of the value of the goods in money. Also in this turnover a rise is seen.

Of these products, opium and cotton were the most marketable in Malabar. To what great fluctuations of price these goods were mutually subject can be seen from the fact that in 1646 the Surat opium was 52% dearer than a year ago because of the scantier planting. A few years later this product again cost 35¾% less. But, as the Surat Opium appeared to be very bad, they attempted to supply this from other factories of the Company such as from the Madura Coast, Kayalpatnam, the Coast of Coromandel and Bengal. The cargoes for Malabar from Surat since 1647 were filled besides cotton and opium with cotton yarn, cummin, cassumba and Moorsh ducats of which especially the last had mostly to be bought at very high prices but were greatly wanted. To keep alive the trade of Wingurla, the upperhead there suggested to the High Government to send to Malabar Spanish, San Thome and Basselor pagodas which according to him were obtained cheaply at Wingurla instead of the Surat ducats. Since the Company became master of the Malayan peninsula, the tin from Malacca formed, in mounting measure, part of the cargoes destined for Malabar. Just as in the case of the spices, the United East India Company was well nigh the sole seller of this commodity and could keep up its price.

The Chinese sheet gold which they imported into Malabar in 1649 as an experiment might alone, against the highest price be exchanged for pepper. If there remained more of it than was necessary for the winter trade, then the remainder was to be sent to Coromandel so that it might not remain lying without interest in the Company's lodge at Kayamkulam.

The Company's servant at Wingurla made use of the scarcity of horses on the Malabar Coast to sell to the inhabitants of that

region a number of very old horses which because of their great age could nowhere be sold any more. These horses could also be used by the Dutch for being given as presents to the princes by whom as the Dutch thought, the horses would be esteemed very valuable and rare. The narrative does not tell us whether these hacks had the desired effect with the Malabarees.

Though naturally the pepper trade on the Malabar Coast was by far the most important aim of the Company, the land however supplied also other products, the buying up of which the United East India Company no more neglected. As has already been narrated above, the Malabar cardamoms which were principally used for being imported into Persia were very much in demand. As the Persians far preferred the Malabar cardamoms to those of Wingurla, the United East India Company, in the long run, suspended the purchase there. In Persia there was obtained on these cardamoms profits which varied from 42% (in 1647) to rather 135½% (in 1650). This cardamom was purchased by the Malabar navigators principally at Cannanore, a place where comparatively less pepper was delivered. The Company in their purchase of cardamom experienced severe competition from Indian merchants who exported this commodity to Mocha, Surat and Cambay and this brought about a strong rise of prices. It was the enormous profits acquired by the United East India Company in Persia that induced them to continue the purchase of cardamom at Cannanore.

The arecanut of Malabar, which in quality was the best in the Indies, was exported to Surat and gave there a profit of 50%.

Of the products of the Cocoanut palm, the United East India Company had the greatest interest for the ropes made of the fluff of the husk of cocoanuts, for example coir ropes which could be used on the Company's ships although only in calm seas as they got petrified quickly and broke with fierce storms for which last contingency they could better use ropes made in Holland. The Lords Seventeen to whom the importance of this coir was pointed out by the Governor of Ceylon, Maetsuycker, must, however, have learned from the Governor-General Van der Lijn that these ropes had been in use already for many years and Maetsuycker certainly introduced no novelty with this. The coir fluff was carried from the Maldives to the Malabar Coast; but the true product of those islands were, for all that, the cowries used in the east as currency. The United East India Company wished to secure a portion of the trade in this substance. Especially to

Cannanore these cowries were conveyed and here the Malabar navigator Van Serooskercken brought consignments,

Further there came from these islands amber that the United East India Company likewise purchased in small lots at Cannanore. Also, the Company carried on trade in copra, the product of the cocoanut palm. This was principally sold at Surat. One other product which the Malabar Coast produced, wax, was negotiated by native merchants but received little attention at the hands of the United East India Company because of the small profits. Different was the case with slaves who could be acquired there in large numbers and at small prices. The Malabar navigators were required to reconnoitre the potentialities of this and bring with them a certain number of these to Batavia. This was, however, a matter that had to be effected with the necessary prudence so that the United East India Company might not become the subject of talk with the inhabitants of the country. It appears, however, that in this commodity actual purchases did not take place. In any case, such purchases are not mentioned in the Company's documents.

Coffee, it is true, was exported in small quantities by the Company to Surat; but it was a product which did not grow on the Coast, but was imported here and there especially at Cannanore by the native merchants. In comparison with other products, this yielded no great profits to the United East India Company. Also sandalwood was one of the imported wares which the United East India Company re-exported. The land produced plentifully other kinds of timber which was utilized by the Company for their ship-building and which the Dutch sent from the Coast to Ceylon.

The High Government decided that, as the Malabar navigators had a too small quantity of pepper in their ships, they should fill them at Galle with cinnamon so that no portion of the Company's costly shipping space might remain unused. Further, the Malabar navigators prompted Ceylon, where the Company did not have at their disposal sufficient cultivated land, to buy rice at Mangalore and Barsalore on the coast of Kanara a little to the north of Malabar when the supply of rice from Coromandel and Java broke down. The rice here was, however, very dear. It was cheaper to get the same in Bengal, and so they got it from that land. The Naick of Canara, in whose land they brought this rice showed himself inclined to deliver pepper also. Till now he had a contract with the Portuguese about the delivery of pepper. Offers were made to the Company in 1656 about the occupation of the

fort Onor; besides the Dutch would enjoy a trade monopoly to the exclusion of others. The Company's upper head at Wingurk Leendert Jansz, had an audience with the Naick and concluded a treaty with the prince.

As the Portuguese were partly dependent on this prince for the supply of provisions, the United East India Company could here thwart their hereditary enemy and this matter was recommended to the attention of Van Goens during his visit to the West Coast of India proper in 1657.

While he was staying behind on the Malabar Coast, Van den Broeck managed to exchange almost all his wares for pepper and when Schoorl arrived on the 7th January 1650, Van den Broeck informed the latter that 340 lasts of pepper were purchased. In the ware house at Kayamkulam he found 150 lasts. With the merchants they had a credit of 50 lasts and at Quilon, where also business was now transacted, 100 lasts were in stock. There was so much pepper that the available tonnage proved too little and it became necessary for them to fill with pepper the gaps in the cargoes from Surat. A portion of the pepper was this time destined for Taiwan (Formosa) and China. In these lands there was a large pepper market which was hitherto supplied exclusively by pepper from the Archipelago.

The Ragiadoor of Kayamkulam put many impediments in the way of the Dutch loading pepper in their ships. Probably this ragiadoor was prompted by Portuguese instigation, but it was also true that in this manner he compelled the Dutch to give him presents. He victimised the natives who loaded pepper for the Dutch with severe penalties. The merchants no more hastened to deliver the contracted pepper. Complaints to the ragiadoor hardly helped. No more had Van den Broeck much success with the merchants who had made him appear before a deputation out of their midst, that is, before "that council of rogues." They replied to Van den Broeck that the king must first have a present and that the pepper should be brought to the Dutch ships only in vessels belonging to him. There remained nothing else for them to do than to pay a visit to the king and have an audience with him. The king was staying in his old palace at Eriby in the midst of forests. This was reached by Schoorl and Van Serooskercken in the night after much trouble and travail. It was a palace for which the Dutch had no other word than a pig pen. The audience and the presents—some Moorish ducats, two guilt mirrors, red lac and sandalwood, altogether costing 126 guilders, "a present too little for such a great

king," as the Dutch flattered him, but sent to him "with a good heart"—so far succeeded that the king promised his help to the Dutch.

The kings of Quilon and Travancore were also visited by the Dutch navigators to Malabar, now Schoorl and Van den Broeck as Van Serooskercken had departed for Cannanore with the *Snoek*. Isaac van Twist the younger also formed part of the embassy.

The signatty (ruler of Quilon) also received a present which did not differ much in value from that given to the ruler of Kayamkulam. He received only one gilt mirror but besides that he was given one small gold-painted nest box and not only red but also green lac. This prince also promised to be helpful to the Dutch.

The king of Travancore who had come to Quilon to fight against the king of Cochin wished likewise to enter into a treaty with the Dutch, but, as Schoorl sceptically observes, only under that pretext to obtain a present. The king was staying in a pagoda and the Dutch proceeded there after first making a gift to the radiadoor of this prince so that the pillais whose desire for gifts was insatiable might not be in their way. Also, the king of Travancore accepted respectfully the Dutch presents which were not smaller in value than those given to his subordinates, the king of Kayamkulam and the signatty. He made great promises to the Dutch that his lands would remain open to the Company. After they had already departed, the Travancore monarch caused a request to be made secretly to the Dutch that he might be given the image of god Subrahmanya which the Dutch had plundered from the Trichendur temple. The Malabar navigators who knew that their superiors had a more advantageous plan with regard to the image of the Hindu god courteously declined the king's proposal. But the king does not seem to have taken this ill for some days later a request from this king that they should conclude a contract with him reached the Dutch. They could then remain in his land during the bad monsoon as they had done in Kayamkulam. In Quilon the Dutch were permitted to pitch, for carrying on trade, a tent close to a Hindu temple on a sacred yard where no blood could be shed.

The king of Cochin did not await the attack of the king of Travancore but himself advanced to the combat. He surrounded the king of Travancore and besieged him in a temple. In Quilon this war caused great consternation. All Nairs and merchants came in arms to relieve the besieged. But because of this the

Dutch did not make much progress. Besides the Portuguese intrigued here very much. The king who admits that there were many rogues among his merchants who had been bought up by the Portuguese promised to punish the guilty ones. But the Dutch also were not trusted by the Signatty. He suspected them of eluding his toll by getting their pepper loaded outside his harbour town of Quilon. Such proposals the Dutch had indeed received from a Kayamkulam merchant but were not acted on, so that disaster might be averted.

Requests from Purakkad to carry on trade there reached the Dutch. Against a merchant of this land who for three years owed pepper to the United East India Company, the Dutch resolved to act firmly and to take the owed quantity of pepper from a country vessel of his loaded with pepper.

While the Dutch were at Kayamkulam they received a request from a man who claimed to be king of the Maldives to take him to Europe in the Company's ships. The claimant to the crown had some months ago made an effort to take possession of the Maldives. But such a hot reception was prepared for him by the inhabitants that he hastily crossed over to Tuticorin. In fact he went so far that compared to him the Dutch were reckoned saints. Schoorl declined the request on the pretext that the transport of foreign nations in the Company's ships was strictly forbidden.

With the Portuguese, the Dutch carried on as little intercourse as possible because they were afraid that the farmer would avenge the outrage at Tuticorin. At Quilon certain prominent Portuguese came to the Dutch "tent" and complained that from their slaves some negroes and negresses had run away and hidden themselves on the Dutch ship for proceeding in it to Batavia. The Dutch immediately suggested that they should convince themselves of the untruth of this imputation so that after their departure no calumny might be cast on them, but the Portuguese did not enter the ship. The Portuguese, indeed, showed the Dutch a letter received from Goa wherein there was talk of an alliance between Portugal and diverse other lands including the Dutch Republic. The Dutch believed nothing of this, rather the contrary. Shortly afterwards, the Portuguese armada sailed past Quilon. Schoorl and his companions suspected that the Portuguese were on the way to Tuticorin so that they might, by putting up a fortress, protect that region against an invasion by the Dutch.

After the departure of the Dutch ships, Van den Broeck was again left on the Malabar Coast with barter goods to the value of 99,137 and odd guilders. For the security of the Company's possessions, there were added two assistants, 4 brave soldiers and a carpenter between whom he had to maintain good discipline. Schoorl reckoned that during the bad monsoon Van den Broeck could collect about 200 lasts of pepper. The negotiations which had been begun with the Signatty had to be continued and a start made with the building of a lodge whereunto the king had promised his support. Already, during the previous season, Van den Broeck had attempted to enter into trade relations at Cochin. However, the Company's goods were not considered sufficient for carrying on the trade here fruitfully. They should keep in their thoughts the opening of the door for profitable returns in Cochin also inspite of the impecunious Portuguese.

Van den Broeck had to take very great care that the natives did not deceive him as they tried to adulterate the pepper with all low practices; a very much used means for this was the mixing of the good pepper with unripe pepper of a second picking.

For the pepper season of 1650-51 the ships *Snoek* and *Uitgeest* were sent out from Batavia.*

This ship was to be joined by the ship *Maastricht* coming from Surat. The whole of the capital for exchange, consisting of the barter goods left behind under Van den Broeck and the supply from Malacca, Surat and Bengal, amounted this year to the sum of 265,333 guilders. The Dutch wished that the Malabar trade continued and expanded, as had happened at Quilon in the previous year, especially as now the Portuguese influence was removed. It was also Cochin that they were already wishing to include in their sphere of interest. The negotiations began by Van den Broeck met with the approval of the Governor-General and Council. They showed themselves very much pleased with the actions of this servant of the Company. Van den Broeck enjoyed a fine and rapid career in the service of the Company. Having come with the ship *Zeelandia* as Under-merchant in 1648, he was already promoted to the rank of Mer-

* There are no data kept of the quantity of pepper that was brought to Batavia in 1650 nor of the gains made. The only source for this, the original general letter dated 10th December 1650, is only fragmentarily kept and the portion dealing with Malabar has been lost. In the original general letter of 20th January 1651, even much less data occur.

chant in 1650 and to that of Senior Merchant in 1653. From 1658 to 1663 he was Director of the trade in Bengal and Councillor Extraordinary of India. After that he was sitting as Ordinary Councillor of India till he returned home on 18th November, 1669, as Admiral of a return fleet.

In view of the endless trouble the Zamorin had caused to the Company in the matter of clearing his debt, it was the intention of the Company, as far as possible, to give no credit on the Coast. But the steady and well-known merchants could not altogether go without the benefit of receiving advance payment for the supply of pepper though everything had to be done here cautiously.

Schoorl again had the command of this voyage, although there were serious complaints about his careless financial management. A not inconsiderable deficit occurred in his books. Or, had he made himself guilty of engaging himself in private trade? It was now expressly laid down firmly in the instructions for the Malabar navigators that in every case such sort of trade was to be absolutely repressed.

In 1650-51, during the bad monsoon, Van den Broeck collected 230 lasts of pepper at Kayamkulam and Quilon. As in the previous year, the embarkation took place with great trouble and worry. This was again due to Portuguese intrigues. One of their expedients was that, when the Dutch had fixed the price of pepper, it was raised by the Portuguese. At Quilon, since the departure of the ships, a ware-house was built in 1650 with the consent of the king. Van den Broeck and his assistant Gerrit van Voorburg who, out of the behaviour of the Portuguese, supposed that a fresh state of war had occurred between Portugal and the Republic, felt themselves very unsafe and feared a surprise attack on and setting fire of their lodge by the Portuguese of Quilon which lay only five (Dutch) miles distant from Kayamkulam. And how easily could the Portuguese with a small present persuade the Malabar princes to do one or other affront to the Dutch! Van den Broeck believed nothing of the talks of the covenant concluded with the Republic. Also, during the armistice, the relations with the Portuguese were very tense. The Portuguese Commander of the fort of Quilon did not forego the opportunity of taking in arrest one of the Company's vessels which had been loaded with goods by Van der Meyden on the way to the Malabar Coast. This again provoked reprisals by the Dutch.

Again and again native ships with passes granted by the Dutch were made booty by the Portuguese. Sometimes, the Portuguese denied this and laid the fault at the doors of the Malabar pirates. Yet it was as clear as the mid-day sun that they had done it. At another time, in a very insulting manner, the Dutch passes were not only not accepted by the Portuguese, but torn into pieces and flung overboard before the eyes of the natives after uttering many abusive words. The Viceroy himself appears to have been implicated in it. Great damage was done through this to the prestige and authority of the Dutch. They decided not to grant any more passes to Indian ships in the future.

In 1647 there was a rumour among the Indian people that Schoorl, the Company's representative at Kayamkulam, would be poisoned by the Portuguese. This, luckily, was a gratuitous supposition, yet it shows the relations between the rivals.

A constantly recurring passage in the annual instructions to the Malabar navigators warned them earnestly not to trust the Malabar pirates but not less the Portuguese.

It was the Portuguese who had to fight with an ever greater want of money, a thorn in the eyes that promoted in such a strong measure the Malabar pepper trade of the Dutch. In 1647 the Viceroy at Goa complained seriously to the Governor of Ceylon that the Dutch went on buying pepper in places where they till then had not traded. They supplanted the Portuguese out of the trade by making them hated by the natives and princes. The Viceroy deemed all these injuries to be little according to the spirit of the concluded armistice treaty.

Actually it was not because the Dutch were turning away from the armistice that the war broke again with the Portuguese. Owing to the weakness of the Portuguese who were so poor that they had nothing to boast of except their tongues, the Dutch could easily obtain advantages and perhaps they could for all times be freed of the Portuguese.

In connection with the chance of war with Portugal, the High Government decided in 1651 to have a strong and defensive stone dwelling built at Kayamkulam for the protection of the Company's servants and property and to place a garrison of 16 to 20 soldiers drafted from the garrison at Galle. This house was to be built in a compound bought at the time by Cranenburg and situated about two miles inland but very favourably on the river where vessels of 20 and more lasts could come before the door for bringing in

wares and taking out pepper. Besides the soldiers 3 or 4 small cannon must terrify possible attackers. The furnishing of the lodge was however to take place only with the complete approval of the lords of the land. When these, presumably on the investigation of the Portuguese, raised objections to this and made even the piece of ground, the Company's property, not available, the Company gave up the building of what could have been their first fortress on the Coast.

Out of fear of the plans of the Portuguese, the Malabar navigators decided to leave behind no garrison on the Coast this year and the Company's people as well as possessions were to be brought on the *Snoek* to Batavia. As outstanding debts to the East India Company there remained with the merchants at Cannanore and Kayamkulam a Capital of 38,728 guilders for which these merchants promised to deliver pepper the following year. But this abandonment of the Dutch settlement appeared to the High Government as some what premature. The Portuguese who feared a Dutch attack on Kayamkulam and Cochin kept a squadron of 18 frigates stationed along the Coast so as to have sufficient immediate help at the place.

It was not less than 565 lasts of pepper that the Malabar navigator could take on their coming to the Coast in 1651 a quantity not reached in any of the previous years. But a great calamity made them lose a good deal of the profits. On the way back to Batavia the *Maastricht* sank with its full cargo. The crew were saved, but of the cargo they saved only a small consignment of gold which was not sold in Malabar. All other goods a pepper stock of 201 lasts (worth 3,938 guilders) opium, sandalwood, camphor, tin etc., altogether worth 97,549 and odd guilders, became a prey of the waves—a calamity which was mainly due to unusually bad ships which must have been used for want of better ones so that the trade might not be idle. Very many ships had been wrecked on the last occasion or laid aside as useless because of age. In spite of this shipwreck, a gain of 68,430 and odd guilders was still obtained. This reverse destroyed the interest in the Malabar pepper trade and they already hesitated to send ships again the coming season to the Coast. But to leave the field wholly free for the Portuguese who had just got ships from Portugal while two new karaks were ready to sail to Europe involved a great peril and so they decided in 1651 on a yet fresh expansion. In November of that year, the fly-boat the *Os* sailed from the harbour of Batavia to the Malabar Coast.

The shortage of ships made the voyage begin only very late in the year. The leader of the trade was no more Dirck Schoorl whose books last year were again not in order and whom they reduced in rank on the complaint of the Chief of Surat that he was a rather careless gentleman. In his place, the control of affairs was entrusted to Van Serooskercken who had already so long been next in seniority to Schoorl. Next in rank to Van Serooskercken was Mattheus Van den Broeck. Although till now Kayamkulam was the headquarters of the trade on the Malabar Coast, Van Serooskercken, because of his long experience of the trade at Cannanore, remained there and Van den Broeck stayed at Kayamkulam.

As they did not know whether the war with Portugal was already begun, there went with this party 16 or 20 soldiers who after the completion of the trade were to return to Ceylon. The value of the cargoes together with the outstanding debts amounted to 112,285 and odd guilders. With this came again tin from Malacca, the Moorish ducats and cotton from Surat. These Surat goods represented a value of 38,141 and odd guilders. The ship conveyed opium to Malabar from Bengal to the great loss of the trade as there was a great demand there (Bengal) for this product and it would have yielded good profits.

Because of the utter lack of tonnage, the ship destined for Malabar also took with them goods for Galle in Ceylon. The Company wanted to keep up good understanding with the princes. The connections with Quilon had to be strengthened. Here the monarch showed himself a devoted friend of the Dutch. On the other hand, his minister, the "independent lord, the Pillai," caused many and unbearable burdens and trouble to the merchant, Van den Broeck, before he finally gave his consent to the delivery of the contracted pepper. The Dutch suspected, probably rightly, this Malabaree nobleman to have been bought up by the Portuguese to be in their way as much as possible. But here appeared Van den Broeck's ability in a praiseworthy manner; he knew to overcome all hindrances and obstacles with great long-suffering and patience. The Dutch, knowing the Malabaree nobleman's eagerness for gain, hoped to bring this Pillai to their side by presents. In spite of the failure of the attempts of the previous year to build a stone fortification at Kayamkulam, the Governor-General and Councillors did not give up the plan and compelled the Malabar navigators to bring the nobles of the land to other thoughts. Van Serooskercken must, as the United Dutch East

India Company always alleged, but pretend to the Malabar monarchs that they did not yet care very much for the pepper trade.

As pepper always turned out to be dearer for the United India Company at Cannanore than at Kayamkulam, the High Government thought that no more trade should be done at the former place in this, but the whole trade should be shifted to Kayamkulam where, besides, much more pepper was available. Therefore, Van Serooskercken was advised not to give any more credit at Cannanore, but to collect as much of their debts as was possible. That the Company was eager to get rid of their unsaleable wares has already been seen in the matter of the old Malabar horses which were made to serve as presents for the Malabar princes. This time Van Serooskercken was given a specimen of a consignment of very old worm-eaten long pepper which was an impediment to the warehouses at Batavia and which was to be disposed of on the Malabar Coast at a loss.

In Malabar the Dutch were received by the princes and inhabitants more friendly and obligingly than in the previous year. Owing to the long delay of the ships, people had not expected them any more and they believed the talk of the Portuguese that the Dutch would not appear on the scene. Now there was great joy over the coming of the Dutch. Even the Pillai who in the previous year had been so hard and bitter to the Dutch now behaved as the Company's best friend. How good the relation was is clear from the fact that the merchants even desired to deliver pepper on credit so that they might first obtain the Company's barter goods. They learned to know each other better and as Van den Broeck, in his communication to Batavia, writes, "as they go on to meet with patience their (of the Portuguese) lies and artifices," they would show themselves more friendly to the Dutch than to the Portuguese. Now from the side of the King and his Ragia-door there even reached an offer regarding the building of a stone lodge notwithstanding the difficulties they had to face against it the previous year. The orders which the Dutch had given for building materials appear to have been executed and they had to begin immediately with the building. The leading Hindu merchants with whom the Company had already contracted for pepper offered to make themselves responsible for the building of the same during the bad season.

There was a large quantity of pepper at Kayamkulam as the Portuguese had bought very little of that spice there and at

Purakkad. This was clear from the somewhat accommodating attitude of the native merchants. Van den Broeck tried to collect the debts due to the Company. This did not make rapid progress. The princes of the land were greeted with the usual presents. The Dutch contracted with the merchants for a stock of pepper to be speedily delivered as the ships had to be loaded before the sea became stormy in April.

At Quilon Van den Broeck, however, encountered an unexpected competition. For six years the Portuguese had not traded here. But the Queen of Signatty (Quilon), fearing that the Dutch would not appear on the Coast and the pepper would remain unsold, had the Governors of Goa reminded of the contracts for the buying up of pepper which the Portuguese had long ago concluded with the princes of Quilon and to which no effect had been given for several years past.

As at Kayamkulam so at Cannanore also, people were glad to see the Dutch come back. Here also the Portuguese had spread false rumours. According to them, the Dutch had become so weak through the reverses which the Portuguese had inflicted on them in Brazil and besides so harassed by the inundation and discord in their own land that they would certainly not appear on the Malabar Coast.

The head of the Mappillas, Mamaly Craa, requested the support of the United East India Company in the form of 2 yachts against the king of the Maldives who, according to Mamaly Craa owed him tribute but wished to withhold the same and had thrown up a fort and mightily defied the people of Cannanore. Mamaly Craa promised to deliver annually a large supply of cowries to the Company if they helped him. The Governor-General and Council rightly saw herein a promising outlook; it could be a means of obtaining better knowledge of those islands. If the Dutch could grant to Mamaly the desired help, then they could stipulate more favourable conditions than he was now willing to afford them. However, the shortage of ships induced the High Government to refuse, for the present, Mamaly's proposals although they were to feed him with hopes. Meanwhile they were to investigate whether the claims of Mamaly Craa on the king of the Maldives were well founded and in which way the venture could best be carried out.

On the 8th July 1652, the ship *Leeuwarden*, which after leaving Surat, had touched the Malabar Coast, arrived at Batavia.

from Malabar with 256 lasts of pepper and on the 6th July the fly-boat the Os with 143 lasts—altogether 399 lasts to the value of 135,812 and odd guilders purchased at the moderate price of $2\frac{1}{2}$ stuivers (pence) per pound.

Only a profit of 26,514 guilders was obtained. With the fly-boat the Os Van den Broeck came to Batavia in accordance with the instructions he had received while Van Serooskercken with his family remained behind at Galle on special request to be used for the Malabar trade in the future. None of the Company's servants nor their possessions remained behind on the Coast.

The war which had broken out with Portugal, the disappointment which the Malabar trade caused to the United East India Company during the most recent years, the lack of ships for the Company to fight in and especially an abundant supply of pepper as a result of larger planting in the Archipelago where the warehouses remained too small for containing the stocks, had put an end to the desire of the Directors in the Netherlands and the High Government at Batavia for the continuance of the Malabar pepper trade and they decided for the present to suspend the voyages. The pepper prices were not only higher in Malabar than in the Archipelago, but from the first they had to face the great expenses of the crew, the wear and tear of ships, and the wages of the servants employed in the Malabar voyages.

The chief aim of the United East India Company with regard to the Malabar pepper trade was not so much the acquisition of large quantities of pepper as to elude another party of it and in the first place it was naturally the Portuguese whom they first wanted to elude. Now that war had broken out, this could happen fruitfully only if the Dutch equipped a fleet for the occupation of Goa which the United East India Company was not immediately in a position to effect owing to their lack of shipping.

The High Government charged the Governor of Ceylon to send to Malabar in the year 1653 only one yacht with the merchant Serooskercken to collect the debts and to greet the princes for the maintenance of friendship and alliance. Serooskercken was besides to try to collect those arrears of the time of Schoorl's activity for which they could not produce a single proof. The High Government rightly feared that forgiving this might create trouble. These debts had to be placed to the charge of these imprudent servants of the Company.

With two yachts Serooskercken set out for Goa; on the way some ships destined for Surat and beyond acted as convoy up to beyond Goa. During the outward journey he took at Cannanore a consignment of cardamoms, but as it was taken without being examined and weighed, it appeared to be so bad that it had to be left behind at Wingurla. For this imprudent action, his superiors were very much offended with Van Serooskercken. He also appears to have been a man of inferior character and to have possessed a certain sort of carelessness but on the whole he obtained at this time the approbation of his then superiors. In 1653, as there was a fear of his activities in Malabar coming to an end, the Governor-General and Council proposed him as provisional Upper Head of Negombo. At this time they did not hear anything of the later complaints and criticism with which Van Goens overwhelmed him.

At first Van Serooskercken who, now that the Netherlands were again at war with Portugal, was commanded to seize ships appears to have had success. Between Wingurla and Cannanore he managed to capture a Yacht whose crew with a single exception knew to escape to the land. The exception was a fakir who was so upset by the interrogation of the Dutch that he sprang over board and perished. The ship appeared to have cargo worth very little and was brought by Van Serooskercken to Cannanore. While it was lying at anchor here to take a cargo of rice and besides to settle current affairs, there appeared suddenly in sight a Portuguese armada of 22 ships coming from Goa. As Van Serooskercken suspected that this was a reinforcing squadron destined for Colombo, he set about pursuing it so as to prevent its coming into that harbour. But the squadron escaped by rowing quickly and reached Colombo. In this way everything still remained wrong on the Coast. Because of his suddenly breaking camp, Van Serooskercken could no more look after a business which he had been commanded by the High Government to transact. The business was this. A year ago the ship the *Wapen* from Batavia had strayed from other ships in the vicinity of Goa. Attacked by Malabar pirates, it caught fire and sank without being rescued. Almost the whole crew was drowned with the exception of five of their number who were rescued. Two of these were sold by the pirates to the Portuguese as slaves. They were carried away to Goa. The other three were held by the pirates in miserable captivity. The Dutch hoped that the mediation of Mamaly Craa would be productive of some good to these prisoners. In the spring Van Serooskercken had already made a beginning with the negotiations, but the pirate

chief would liberate his prey only in return for a very high ransom as he had suffered very great loss in the fight with the Dutch ship. This pirate maintained 'that, if only the captain of the ship had given a signal that he was a Dutchman, he would have been let alone and he himself need not have incurred such great loss.' The sudden departure of Van Serooskercken who, moreover, dared not, on his own authority, grant such a high ransom, let this matter pending and the poor Dutchmen in their captivity.

For the settlement of this and other questions, it was thus very necessary that in spring a yacht was sent again from Ceylon and Van Serooskercken sailed again with the Yacht *Sluis* to Cannanore. Yet they had not sufficient ships to blockade Goa and as the large supply of pepper was brought to Batavia from the Archipelago, the high College at Batavia had no inclination to renew the voyage to Malabar from Batavia.

Van Serooskercken knew to collect the pending debts at Cannanore. Of the Dutchmen imprisoned with the pirates, we hear nothing further and must thus suppose that the ransom was found to be too high and the Dutch left their fellow countrymen in the hands of the Malabarees. Now, for the present, they had no need of pepper and there was no reason to visit Cannanore any more unless it was because of cardamoms which always yielded such large profits in Persia. Again, as only very little of value was left behind at Kayamkulam, Serooskercken did not touch this place at this time. In 1654 the High Government left it for the present to the judgment of the Governor and Council of Ceylon as to whether they should continue or suspend the Malabar trade.

But as already in the following year the men at Batavia were, by reason of a good reinforcement received from the fatherland, in a position to equip a strong fleet for the capture of Colombo under the Director-General, Gerard Hulft, they decided, in spite of their having a sufficient stock of pepper, on the resumption of the Malabar pepper trade with the view of hitting the Portuguese economically. A small cargo of barter goods to the value of 46,565 and odd guilders was sent for the purpose to Ceylon to be exchanged by Van Serooskercken for pepper. At the same time, the usual purchase of cardamoms for Persia was to be effected at Cannanore.

And though Van Serooskercken acquired but little profits, they continued the trade in the following years. This, however, took place more out of the initiative of the Governor of Ceylon than of Batavia. Even the old plan of building a stone dwelling at Kayamkulam was carried out though not without protests and

hindrances from the natives. Throughout the whole year Van Serooskercken stayed on the Coast and collected the pepper. As Batavia and the Netherlands were flooded with pepper Van der Meyden desired to use this Malabar pepper exclusively for Persia and the Mocha trade. However, the Governor of Ceylon no more cherished very high expectations of the Malabar trade. He estimated the yield of the whole Coast to be less than 600 or 700 lasts and was sceptical about the possibility of keeping away foreign merchants from the Coast. This required more rights than the Company could at that moment assert. Moreover, the desire of the Indian merchants for gain was far too great for them to exclude others for the benefit of the Dutch.

The Governor-General and Council who were not highly fond of the performances of Van der Meyden on the Malabar Coast showed themselves to be little pleased over the expenses caused by the building of a lodge. Only for the faint continuance of the trade by the sending, at the most, of a Yacht from Ceylon were they prepared. Foreign competitions must be hindered. It was hoped that they of their own accord would be eliminated to a large extent by the blockade of Goa. Friendship with the magnates of Malabar must be preserved. But it was certain that greater benefits could not, for the present, be obtained on the Coast. Looking over the relations of the Dutch with the Malabar Coast during the entire period during which the United East India Company had so far maintained connections with that Coast, they felt that the profits were still very little compared with the much more important pepper trade of the Archipelago from which much greater profits were obtained. The complaints of the Governor-General and Council over the dear pepper of Malabar were very frequent. Compared with the pepper trade in the Archipelago, the Malabar pepper trade was only a side show. Reviewing the turnover and gains of the period dealt with, we find there were ups and downs, but, on the whole, however, a steadily mounting line. The negotiations of the pepper contracts during the Governor-Generalship of Van Diemen laid the foundation of the flourishing period under the Governor-General Van der Lijn. There ensued a sudden falling back, mainly owing to political causes, namely the war with Portugal with which they were again threatened and which specially broke out again.

But the Malabar Coast acquired one other meaning for the Company. No longer was the word to be applied to merchants and traders. The capture of Colombo in 1656 opened with respect to

Malabar far-reaching perspectives. The military conquest of the Coast came within the realm of possibilities.

It was not cunningness in trade but political, war-like and diplomatic talent that the new situation required. The Malabar Coast which till now was viewed only as a region of very subordinate importance in the economic organisation of the United East India Company claims full attention for a series of years. It was a person like Rijcklof Van Goens, one of the founders of the Company's power in the so-called Western Quarters, who here performed his most renowned deeds. With his expedition to Quilon begins the story of the political activities of the Dutch in Malabar.

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Minto, Baillie and Saadut Ali, 1807-1813

By

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II

REFORMS :—

The beginning of Minto's term as Governor General and Baillie's as Resident at Lucknow was marked by great, studious and apparent cordiality in the mutual relations between the British and Oudh Governments. Saadut Ali had the statesmanship to see that this was his opportunity to crush the over-powerful landed aristocracy and thus to relieve the ryots from acute misery and poverty.⁴² There is little doubt that he used his opportunity to the full, by making requisition after requisition for British troops and employing them in the subjugation of the great refractory rajas, taluqdars and zemindars. His aim was to establish a centralised, well-knit and efficient despotism. In the beginning Baillie, actuated by 'the wish of maintaining and improving the harmony which subsists between the British Government and His Excellency the Vizier, by evincing a ready acquiescence in His Excellency's reasonable requests',⁴³ provided him with all the British troops that had been requisitioned, almost as a matter of course, without even the previous sanction of the Supreme Government, which, he said, "appeared to me to be unnecessary"⁴⁴ because "there can be no question, I apprehend, of His Excellency the Vizier's right under existing engagements" to requisition the occasional aid of British arms.⁴⁵

Thus the Taluqdars of Bhadri, Goura, Nanpara etc., were all brought back into submission by the aid of British arms. A minor distraction in all these operations, however, was the invariable unpleasantness in the relations between the British Officers Com-

42. Irwin: "Garden of India". Op. Cit. pp. 108-109.

43. 'Oude Papers': Op. Cit. pp. 1-2.

44. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 1.

45. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 1.

manding in the field and the Nawab-Wazir's Amils who were attached to them to help, guide and inform them.⁴⁶

There were three things, however, which troubled the people at the helm of British affairs in India. The first was the suspicion, nay the conviction, that most of the troubles for suppressing which British help was invariably solicited were caused by 'the injustice and rapacity'⁴⁷ of the Nawab-Wazir's own Amils. The second was the inherent sympathy of the British army officers with the landed aristocracy in suppressing whom they were employed in Oudh.⁴⁸ The third was the marked attitude of Saadut Ali who was naturally very unfavourable to those of his courtiers and officials who were known to have Anglophil tendencies⁴⁹. It was psychologically speaking, a perfectly natural reaction in a person whose dominions, authority, revenues and even liberties had been seized by the British.

Agrarian conditions in Oudh had been medieval and the farming of the revenues by Amils, who were usually the highest bidders was in vogue. Saadut Ali, however, was interested in the well-being of his people and was, therefore, engaged in resuming many of the rent-free grants, a good deal of the Taluqdari Nankar and in replacing the rapacious 'Amildari' system slowly and steadily by the beneficent 'Amani' system of land tenure. On all these points, we have for our witnesses, Colonels McAndrew and Sleeman.⁵⁰ As always happens in all times of transition, in all countries, here too, sometimes the powerful state-officials (the Amils) did act rapaciously. And unfortunately such cases were always more closely watched by the British officers, who forgot that conditions in British owned districts and territories were no better, in some places they were much worse.⁵¹

Towards the middle of the year 1810, Baillie grew a little weary of requisitions on the part of the Nawab-Wazir for British troops to suppress refractory chiefs and collect arrears of revenue from defaulting zemindars. In the meanwhile from the correspondence of various officers commanding in the field he could gather evidence of defects existing in the revenue system of Oudh,

46. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 17 and 34.

47. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 13.

48. Irwin: 'Garden of India': Op. Cit. p. 108.

49. 'Oude Papers': Op. Cit. p. 15.

50. Irwin: 'Garden of India'. Op. Cit. p. 108-110.

51. H. H. Wilson: "History of British India, 1805-1835" Vol. I (1845), p. 384.

with the practical working of which, he was by now, thoroughly acquainted. Ere long he suggested to the Nawab-Wazir that the system needed an overhaul. Very suavely Saadut Ali agreed that there was need for change and that measures were being taken to give some practical shape to the suggestions.⁵² Saadut Ali realised his utter helplessness and knew he could not do without British help in troops and arms, and this he was bent on extorting by any and all means—by cajoling, flattering, whining, bluffing and if necessary and possible even by bullying. In each of these processes he was prepared to go to any lengths.⁵³

In these days when British troops were being continuously employed in the Nawab-Wazir's service and in his dominions, one of the constant sources of irritation between the British officers and the Oudh amils was the question of procuring supplies for the army in the field. In September 1810 there was some trouble in the districts of Sultanpur and Pratapgarh where the British troops were employed in restoring order. Saadut Ali wanted to get that settled and to give the amilship of those districts to one of his most efficient amils, Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan, a person who was acknowledged to be a good and efficient administrator even by such a hard judge as Baillie himself.⁵⁴ Baillie's proposal was that these districts should be settled in the way suggested by him, taking as a model the arrangements made in the ceded districts, now under the company's government.⁵⁵ To this Saadut Ali would not agree. On 18th September 1810, Saadut Ali had offered to go personally to the spot or depute Hakim Mehdi Ali for the purpose of settling those districts in accordance with his views. This course of action Baillie, in effect, vetoed in his letter of the 20th September. A letter from the British Commanding Officer of Pratapgarh, informed Baillie on the 23rd September that the amil of the district was not able to provide essential supplies to the British troops there.⁵⁶ Baillie immediately wrote to the Nawab-Wazir suggesting to him "the propriety of deputing Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan, as early as possible, to these districts, for the purpose of collecting the necessary supplies for the troops".⁵⁷ The Nawab-Wazir found this a bit too much for

52. 'Oude Papers', Op. Cit. p. 74.

53. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 78.

54. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 95, 97, 107 and 201.

55. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 94.

56. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 95.

57. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 95.

his sense of decorum and prestige. It looked, as if in Baillie's opinion, this man, who was too good to be put to trouble for the purpose of making the revenue settlement on behalf of the Oudh Government, was not too good to be spared the trouble of going to the same districts for the purpose of making arrangements for the comfortable lodging and boarding of the British sepoys. The Nawab-Wazir refused to send Hakim Mehdi Ali "merely for the purpose of collecting supplies for the troops".⁵⁸ On this point, a lengthy correspondence between Baillie and Saadut Ali ensued.⁵⁹ Apparently Baillie over-reached himself and in the mass of contradictory statements with which his letters bristled his point could not be appreciated. He went on pressing his original demand of sending the Hakim, and in the course of this correspondence discovered many new and forceful arguments in support of his demand. Saadut Ali went on refusing to comply and was determined. He had many, very genuine, pertinent and obvious reasons for resolutely refusing to send the Hakim to collect supplies. Even before this there had been some unpleasant discussions between Baillie and Saadut Ali.⁶⁰ As we have seen, Baillie was already trying to think of some plans the implementation of which might result in such smooth running of the revenue system that in future English aid to the Nawab-Wazir would not be needed. This quarrel, however, clinched the issue. Rather peremptorily he suggested to the Nawab Wazir a plan of triennial settlement in the districts under discussion.⁶¹ In his usual docile and suave manner Saadut Ali hinted that the plan was good but impracticable. He, however, did not reject it outright and he promised to adopt a few suggestions from it. The discussion dragged on. But Baillie's gorge had risen. In one of his letters to the Nawab-Wazir, during the course of this correspondence he had written that he had been led to conclude that the sole reason of His Excellency's resolution not to acquiesce in this suggestion of deputing Hakim Mehdi Ali was that it had come from him (Baillie) "I shall leave it to your Excellency to reflect on the effects of this painful but necessary inference on my mind"⁶² Those effects were now coming to the fore.

58. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 96.

59. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 94-110.

60. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 105.

61. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 100-101.

62. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 106.

63. 'Oude Papers'; Loc. Cit. p. 100.

On December 5, 1810 Baillie addressed a despatch to the Supreme Government reporting all his differences with the Nawab-Wazir and adding his comments which were none too flattering to the ruler at whose court he resided. "His Excellency's leading passion of avarice and all its concomitant evils have, as is natural, increased with his age; and the reluctance and impatience with which he ever listened to remonstrance against the inordinate gratification of this passion, or against any unjust measure of his government, have lately arisen to a degree of peevishness and irritation, which renders the efficient conduct of duties of my station at his court, combined with the observance and offices of personal respect and conciliation, a great deal more difficult than before."⁶⁴

Minto, who had been kept in touch with all these discussions and correspondence was not the person to sit quiet and watch things taking their own course. He had seen the copy of the letter in which Baillie had recommended to Saadut Ali a scheme for triennial settlement in Pratapgarh and Sultanpur districts. This idea developed itself in the Governor General's mind. And he decided to propose to the Nawab-Wazir a plan for an overall reform of the existing revenue settlement in the whole of his dominions, in a direct address to that Prince from himself. At the same time Minto was a man of few illusions and very great tact and moderation. He knew that he could not expect the scheme in its entirety to be accepted by Saadut Ali nor could it be expected to succeed if forced on him against his will. Although in his own letter to the Nawab-Wazir he mentioned only the overhauling of the Revenue system of Oudh, he knew that the success of this would be impossible unless it was accompanied by reforms in the judiciary and Police departments in this principality. The Resident was furnished with detailed instructions on all these points. Minto's justification in coming out with this plan of reforms was his anxiety about the engagement of British troops in Oudh for several months every year in operations in support of the civil authority. This civil authority he honestly considered as synonymous with "the destructive system of administration"⁶⁵ which had engendered "these acts of violence, injustice and extortion"⁶⁶ that were notorious in the conduct of the amils towards the ryots. He perhaps was unaware of Saadut Ali's side of the picture and

64. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 119.

65. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 133.

66. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 128

from the information supplied by Baillie and others could never realise that Saadut Ali's requisitions for British troops were not directed against the welfare of the ryots but were part of a programme to clean the Augean stables that this conscientious and cautious prince had inherited.⁶⁷ Moreover, Saadut Ali always tried to avoid, as much as was possible, making a requisition for British armed help.⁶⁸

Minto was, at the same time, acutely conscious of the British right of interference in the affairs of Oudh and this he rested on two grounds: (a) that it was on the basis of British arms that the Nawab-Wazir asserted his authority over his refractory subjects, and, therefore, the British government has a right to make enquiries into and suggestions about the administration which they upheld.⁶⁹ (b) Article VI of the Treaty of Cession 1801. He realised that from the date of Wellesley's departure up to his own time there had been too little exercise of this right of interference which, he thought, the British Government were legally possessed of. The lawyer in Minto was quick to perceive that this right "by disuse might prescriptively be lost or essentially impaired and which, if not at the present, may on some future occasion be efficiently exercised."⁷⁰ Consequently, by addressing this letter, he felt he was serving "the interests of humanity and justice, those of His Excellency and his subjects",⁷¹ and also reviving a right that was getting obsolete by disuse. Minto was clear too in his mind that Oudh was an entirely dependent state,⁷² but at the same time he did not intend a literal construction to be placed upon his suggestions. He wanted only a start to be made towards better government in Oudh and for this, even if only some of his suggestions were adopted and defectively executed, he thought, it would be satisfactory.⁷³

The four fundamental principles of his reform plan of December 28, 1810 were:— (a) a just and moderate assessment; (b)

67. Irwin 'Garden of India': Op. Cit. pp. 102-103, 108-109.

68. Heber: 'Journey', Op. Cit. page 83. "Still Saadut Ali had used this right very sparingly. He was not fond of admitting far less requesting, and more foreign interference than he could help. His own guards were enough for all usual occasions, and were in excellent order and discipline."

69. Oude Papers: Op. Cit. p. 131.

70. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 128.

71. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 128.

72. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 129.

73. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 128.

a settlement for a term of years; (c) the conclusion of engagements by gradation from the amil to the ryot; and (d) the guarantee of these engagements. What Minto really aimed at was some kind of definite settlement, having a certain amount of permanence — this was to be patterned after the system of revenue established in the ceded districts by the company's government. The whole thing was explained in some detail and with much force in his letter from the Governor General to the Nawab Wazir.

It is understood that Saadut Ali was not cordial in his reception of the Civil Reforms Programme that was put before him. One does not feel inclined to blame him too much if he was not able to forget that the negotiations that had culminated in the treaty by which he was made to cede about two-thirds of his territories to the Hon'ble Company, had commenced with some talks about military reforms. To him naturally the word 'Reforms' had a sinister connotation, and revived unsavoury memories.

In Baillie's hands the reform plan became an engine of oppression. The negotiations that ensued between him and the Nawab-Wazir were, to him, an opportunity which he could (and forcefully did) utilise in voicing his own personal grievances against Saadut Ali, in reminding him again and again of the support and good grace that he enjoyed from the Governor General and that without running the risk of being paid back in his own coin he could insult and humiliate the old and sensitive prince. Baillie formally handed over the letter of the Governor General to the Nawab-Wazir in an audience on February 23, 1811, which started these negotiations. From this date to the 4th of April 1811 they had had six interviews⁷⁴ to discuss the plan; and had exchanged a whole heap of letters and documents.⁷⁵ The course of the whole thing was pretty uniform. The Nawab-Wazir expressed doubts regarding almost all the measures that had been set forth in this plan. In the interviews, Baillie invariably assumed a thundering and intimidating attitude. Saadut Ali was by nature weak but obstinate. His dislike for the measure proposed to him was insuperable. At the same time he realised that the British were not only in a position to dictate to him but also they had intentions of taking advantage of this position. So, in the presence of Baillie, almost invariably, after a little shying and attempts at evasion, he yielded. When left alone, however, and free from the obsession of fear that Baillie's

74. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 153-163.

75. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 163-183.

flustering and thundering inspired in him, he invariably recovered the hauteur⁷⁶ of an Eastern Potentate and sent to the Resident another set of reasons in support of his dislike of the proposed reforms.

At last on March 30, 1811, when the Resident was closeted with the Nawab-Wazir, the latter was forced to acquiesce in every detail of the plan excepting one, and that one, Baillie decided to overlook for the moment.⁷⁶ Saadut Ali remained inflexible on the point of not permitting the Resident's participation in the selection of his amins, to be appointed under the new programme,⁷⁷ to replace the old amils. The reasons he gave for this were perfectly valid and proper. He said that if the Resident had final authority in these appointments naturally they would try to owe allegiance to the Resident, with whom they would also attempt to curry favour. This, according to the Nawab-Wazir, would have a tendency to subvert his authority and so it would be against the spirit of Articles VI of the Treaty of Cession 1801, and XVII of the Treaty of 1797, both of which guaranteed his full authority over his dominions and subjects. Even the Supreme Government expressed doubts about their own title to go so far as to "insist upon having a voice in the appointment of the Vizier's officers."⁷⁸

The Nawab-Wazir, however did not send any written confirmation of the acquiescence he had verbally made in this interview and five days elapsed. Now Baillie started getting apprehensive of some new trouble and decided, therefore, on April 4, 1811 to go to the Palace and force a showdown. He went, he bullied and he won. The necessity of a showdown never arose. The Nawab-Wazir sent in a written confirmation as had been required.⁷⁹

In Saadut Ali's diplomacy temporising was one thing and implementing the plan quite another. And the irony of the situation was that Baillie and Minto and everybody knew this but could not do anything.

In the course of these negotiations Baillie had submitted to Saadut Ali the draft of a proclamation and the instructions for the guidance of the amins to be appointed. The next logical step that had to follow upon the Nawab-Wazir's acquiescence in the general

76. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 161.

77. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 179.

78. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 184.

79. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 163.

principles of the Reform Plan, was to make a beginning by adopting and issuing the proclamation and the instructions.

Both these documents, as drafted by Baillie, in their respective preambles, included the words "with the friendly advice and concurrence of the Hon'ble Company's Government".⁸⁰ These words were expunged by the Nawab-Wazir when the documents came to him for final sanction. The Resident tried to argue the point out and force him to keep this expression in the text.⁸¹ Saadut Ali said that he considered the words "totally redundant" and would not, therefore, "on any principle, consent to their insertion in the drafts".⁸² The reality was that, with all his ideas of his own prestige Saadut Ali was sensitive and vain, and did not wish to permit these words to remain because from these the natural inference to be drawn by his people would have been that even the portions of Oudh remaining to him after the Treaty of Cession were his in name only; the authority even there was that of the East India Company.⁸³

The keener and more impatient Baillie grew to put these reforms into operation from this very Fusly year, the greater Saadut Ali's ingenuity became in putting forth difficulties and objections in the way of the accomplishment of these plans. It was a regular game of chess in which, on both sides, each step was taken, each pawn placed in new positions, with remarkable and deliberate calculations.

At this stage Baillie suggested that they should divert their attention to the four fundamental stages for realising the reforms plan: (a) A division and sub-division of the country into zillahs and mahāls; (b) amins to be deputed to investigate, and collect data which should form the ground of future arrangements; (c) the conclusion of a triennial settlement under a gradation of engagements from the tehsildar to the ryot; and (d) establishment of the courts of justice and an efficient police in the zillahs and mahāls.⁸⁴

The Nawab-Wazir had selected six persons to be appointed as Amins later on, at the time of the implementation of the plan.

80. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 176-177.

81. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 194.

82. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 208.

83. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 213.

84. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 216-217.

To them he gave instructions and unfolded plans regarding the duties that they would be required to undertake. They presented him with a long 'Arzi' enumerating a whole battalion of objections and statements of doubts and difficulties.⁸⁵ Baillie alleged that he had definite information that this was all a tutored affair and that the whole draft was made by orders and under supervision of the Nawab-Wazir.⁸⁶ Another objection was that the terms of many of the amils under existing engagements with them had still sometime to run and, therefore, it would not be possible to resume their farms and put into operation the Reform plan, which would necessarily have to wait.⁸⁷ And now the Nawab-Wazir suggested that the reform plan might be put into operation not wholesale but as a measure "partial and experimental".⁸⁸

The real grounds of objection on the part of Saadut Ali were that he felt this system had not been a successful one in the company's dominions where it had been in force for over ten years,⁸⁹ that his own peasantry was contented and cultivation was flourishing,⁹⁰ and this new system would spoil it all. He saw no reason to change his own administrative system in those districts which were peaceful and prosperous, even if the reform system might be taken into consideration for those areas where troubles usually occurred.⁹¹ He was justified in reasoning that, for technical reasons it would be impossible to effect the transition from one system to another with such peremptory haste as the Resident insisted upon.⁹² He also apprehended that during the period of transition his revenue would suffer and Saadut Ali was not the man to allow a loss to his exchequer for any reason whatsoever.⁹³

However hard Baillie tried to answer these doubts and to set the Nawab-Wazir's apprehensions at rest, he could not succeed, firstly, because there certainly was much force and truth in Saadut Ali's arguments, and secondly, because Saadut Ali was as convinced of the justice of his fears as he was shy of any change in his administration forced from above. The Resident grew peevish and

85. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 203-205.

86. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 193, 211.

87. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 192, 195-196.

88. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 192.

89. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 209.

90. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 196.

91. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 195.

92. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 195.

93. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 196, 207, 209.

developed the irritating habit of branding these objections and apprehensions as "frivolous and imaginary and groundless",⁹⁴ and attributed them to "the want of a cordial concurrence on your own part in the necessity of the measures proposed."⁹⁵ At this stage Baillie was even prepared for some sort of compromise, but Saadut Ali would have none of it as he believed in his ability to argue the whole thing and evade its implementation till the English grew weary and left him at peace.⁹⁶

At this stage, Minto left for Madras and from there onwards to Java, accompanying the expedition sent to damage and uproot the French power in the South East Asian Archipelago. There was one thing above all others, the true hall-mark of inherent aristocracy, which distinguished Minto; and it was that he knew the way to win the loyalty and affections of his subordinates as well as how to make them work. Malcolm, Elphinstone, Metcalfe, Lumsden, Adam, Edmonstone have all left testimony to that effect. His technique was to extend all encouragement, co-operation and confidence to the man on the spot,⁹⁷ and to make him feel that his work was being appreciated—the one necessary factor that makes work a pleasure for a subordinate. In the meanwhile the reins of the Supreme Government at Fort William were in the hands of the Vice President-in-Council, General George Hewett, who was efficient, honest, upright and a man of principles but essentially a soldier. Things naturally were different for Baillie while Hewett was in charge at Fort William between May and December 1811. The old unencumbered confidence from Headquarters to which Baillie had been used was wanting now.

The Government at Fort William being convinced that the negotiations would be unfruitful, made no secret of it.⁹⁸ They also warned Baillie not to fall into a trap, which might enable the Wazir to point out later that he had predicted the loss occasioned by "the pursuit of a chimerical system of theoretical improvement."⁹⁹

94. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp.192, 199.

95. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 198.

96. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 218.

97. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 70, 73, 81, 83 etc. He always approved of Baillie's actions, set forth lines of policy for him and so long there was no deviation from the broad pattern laid down by him, his soothing and patriarchal confidence could be relied upon. Even when he disapproved of some of Baillie's acts, as in Hyder Buksh's case, he never chided in an offensive manner.

98. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 211.

99. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 211.

Although this strain of discussion was telling upon the health of old Saadut Ali, he obstinately held out against all the threats and reproaches Baillie hurled in his face. Baillie said that the Nawab-Wazir was bound by the terms of the Treaty of Cession, 1801 and the agreement with Lord Wellesley, 1802 as well as by his own letter of acquiescence of April 4, 1811. The Nawab-Wazir replied that neither the Treaty nor the agreement contained any particular term which bound him to accept the very scheme of reform now proposed to him and that the letter of April 4th contained no positive promise—it was a letter in a correspondence the subject matter of which was still under consideration.¹⁰⁰ He alleged that Baillie had confessed in his letters that he would suspend the implementation of the reforms till all His Excellency's doubts were settled and to this Baillie returned a vigorous negative reply.¹⁰¹

The Nawab-Wazir was against including those words "with the advice and concurrence of the British Government" in his proclamation etc., and he did not like the idea of sending new amils to investigate conditions in his districts. To overcome these initial difficulties as well as because he was himself not fully sure about the propriety of his pressing these rather obnoxious demands, Baillie yielded on these two points.¹⁰² He thought this would help to set the ball rolling; but Saadut Ali was too shrewd and too obstinate not to understand the game. He declared that he was not prepared to move an inch in the matter till all his doubts were settled at rest.¹⁰³ Baillie was as discourteous during these discussions as any diplomat could be,¹⁰⁴ he stigmatised the advice of His Excellency's confidential servants (Roy Daya Krishna¹⁰⁵ and Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan¹⁰⁶) as "the pernicious and interested counsels of a few designing individuals";¹⁰⁷ he even threatened that the Nawab-Wazir should realise that after the end of the present Fusly year "the future support or assistance of a single soldier of the British army, to the present baneful system, or to any of its instruments in the persons of your Excellency's amils, was entirely out of the question".¹⁰⁸

100. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 231.

101. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 224.

102. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 220.

103. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 222-223.

104. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 223; His straight refusal to reply a letter.

105. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 162-163.

106. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 220.

107. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 233.

108. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 229, 233.

Saadut Ali refused to budge an inch. His dislike for the proposed system was whole-hearted and solid. In the meanwhile, Baillie, in effect, reported to Head-quarters, "I have done my best and failed. What next?" He suggested also that perhaps a direct address from the Vice-President-in-Council to the Nawab-Wazir might be helpful to bring nearer the success of his negotiation.¹⁰⁹

The despatch which, in reply, Baillie received from Fort William was an eye-opener. Hewett refused to send a direct address to the Nawab-Wazir as had been suggested by Baillie.¹¹⁰ It was plainly said that as Saadut Ali was irrevocably determined to oppose these reforms, in case he were to be 'compelled' and not 'persuaded' to acquiesce into implementing them he would later find means to sabotage the whole plan and against this contingency the British had no remedy.¹¹¹ Baillie was told outright that in putting that threat about the discontinuance of military aid to Saadut Ali, he had "exceeded the intention of the Governor General-in-Council."¹¹² In case these negotiations ended in the severance of relations with Oudh, it was candidly confessed, great harm to the British Government would result.¹¹³ To justify extreme measures being taken, it was Hewett's opinion, there must be, on the part of the Nawab-Wazir, 'an essential and indisputable' violation of the engagements and stipulations between the two Governments, which these expressions of hesitation and doubt could not be construed conclusively to constitute.¹¹⁴ Hewett was perhaps eminently just and honest when he said that dictation was not the underlying motto of the late engagements with Oudh;¹¹⁵ and supposing for a moment that this refusal of the Nawab-Wazir was a culpable dereliction even then this offence was not sufficiently serious to merit such exemplary punishment as to stop the military aid to Oudh. It was emphasised in this despatch that the motive of the Governor-General in writing the letter of 28th Dec. 1810 regarding the reforms was more to assert the right of the British Government to interfere in Oudh affairs than to press the exercise of that right to absurd extremes. And then suppose on getting notice from the British Government that he would get no further

109. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 230.

110. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 237.

111. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 234-235, 241.

112. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 234.

113. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 234-235.

114. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 235.

115. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. para 10, p. 235.

military assistance, the Nawab-Wazir turned and said, "Gentlemen I ceded two thirds of my territories to purchase this right of getting military assistance from you. Now that you withdraw this right please restore my ceded territories."¹¹⁶ In effect Hewett's line of argument was that there were three alternatives:

I. To consider the Nawab-Wazir as having "placed himself in the condition of a public enemy and absolve us from the engagements which we have contracted."¹¹⁷

II. To agree to "a dissolution of the compact involving the restoration of the ancient order of things."¹¹⁸

III. To acquiesce "in this unavoidable imperfection of the original arrangement".¹¹⁹

Hewett was candidly clear that the "system of evasion and subterfuge qualified by an ostensible regard to the counsels of the British Government, to which his Excellency has had recourse" is not a grave enough dereliction to justify the first alternative being taken. The second one was ruled out as being inexpedient. The only remaining alternative was the third and so it was recommended to Baillie.

These instructions put Baillie into an untenable position. He tried as best as he could to justify what he had told the Nawab-Wazir about the discontinuance of British military aid to Oudh. It was necessarily a weak defence and in their reply, the Supreme Government exposed its weakness,¹²¹ but Baillie's conduct was not censured. The Resident was now under orders to suspend negotiations, but his personal inclination was averse to the course of policy laid down for him. He reported that he thought he could yet catch Saadut Ali in a good mood and get his assent for the Reforms, after all.¹²² The fact, however, seems to be that he now discovered that he had advanced too far to retrace his steps honourably.

116. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. para 13, p. 236.

117. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit.

118. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit.

119. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit.

120. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 241-243.

121. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 244-246.

122. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. para 3, p. 244.

paragraphs 12 and 13. page 236.

entlemen His difficulty was solved because the Nawab-Wazir, on whose health this strain has told, fell seriously ill.¹²³ This resulted in the suspension of all official business between Baillie and Saadut Ali. The former was sedulous in his attentions to the latter and all possible courtesy was used.¹²⁴ Saadut Ali got well, but under the pretext that he was still convalescing refused to open talks on the matter of reforms with the British Government.¹²⁵

In the meanwhile the Nawab-Wazir himself took steps towards abolishing the system of farming of revenues altogether and extending the amani system to the whole of Oudh.¹²⁶ He also took some steps towards improving law and order in his dominions and reforming the Police administration.¹²⁷ He informed Baillie of his intentions and Baillie with his characteristic thoroughness and vindictiveness sent him a really detailed and nasty rejoinder.¹²⁸ Therein the Nawab-Wazir was, in effect told that the measures he proposed to take were inadequate, bound to be of no help, and it was imputed that he had taken such a half-hearted measure because, it seemed, he was interested in the continuance of the chaotic conditions in his dominions!

By this time Minto had come back to Bengal. When on December 17, 1811, Baillie received a requisition from the Nawab-Wazir for a detachment of troops to quell some troubles in the district of Baharabad (troubles arising out of the rebellious conduct of a zemindar who had proved refractory and committed some murders),¹²⁹ Baillie felt free to give vent to his choleric feelings. After that matter of instructions from the Vice-President-in-Council he could not outright say 'No' to this demand from the Oudh Government, but he made it plain that the required assistance could not be rendered unless he had satisfied himself that the demand was justifiable; by deputing an Amin appointed by himself to investigate the matter.¹³⁰ In the letter embodying this reply Baillie criticised the aims of the Oudh Government, expressed his suspicion that the disaffection now sought to be quelled was the result of the

123. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 239-240.

124. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 243-244.

125. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. para 1, p. 246.

126. 'Oude Papers' Loc. Cit. para 5, p. 238.

127. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 254-255.

128. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 255-262.

129. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 264.

130. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 264-267.

amil's oppression, and went to the extent of saying that "the seizure and punishment of a murderer" and "the apprehension of criminals and felons",¹³¹ were jobs of the Oudh Police and not of the Company's army. He argued, and, from his own point of view of course, proved that the British Government had "an unquestionable right to investigate and arbitrate all such claims and demands."¹³²

Upon this course of action adopted by Baillie, Minto set the seal of his "high approbation".¹³³

The Nawab-Wazir's reply to all this was that he had never so far, been refused aid by any of the British Residents for seizing marauders and robbers; that under the terms of the existing treaties and engagements he could not see how the right of arbitration between the Nawab-Wazir's authority and his subjects had been taken over by the British; that he refused to allow Baillie to appoint an amin because he was going to do so himself; that he was not prepared to appear in the situation of "plaintiff and defendant" as against his own subjects because that would subvert his sovereignty; and that now it seemed, his land-holders, seeing that he had no armed backing, would withhold payment of dues to the Government, and the blame of it should squarely rest on Baillie's shoulders.¹³⁴ Baillie's rejoinder was caustic. He made it plain that British forces would not aid the collection of Oudh revenues and that their right to arbitrate would be insisted upon. He also openly claimed British supremacy over Oudh. Baillie was a talented equivocalist. He tried to moralise and said that in the British territories the Government and the individual always appeared as defendant and plaintiff in courts of justice; and that if the Nawab-Wazir said he was not prepared to take up this role vis-a-vis his subjects it meant his government was neither just nor virtuous and he notified the Nawab-Wazir of his intention to insist upon appointing an amin for investigations because he had the Governor-General's orders for doing so.¹³⁵ Perhaps he forgot that an independent state as plaintiff versus one of its subjects, in its own court was a different matter from making such an appearance before another sovereign power. Such a thing signifies the end of the sovereignty of the former. Perhaps the real trouble was the

131. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 266.

132. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 266.

133. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 268.

134. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 292-294.

135. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 294-297.

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Baillie was keen to make Saadut Ali confess that he was a 'dependent Prince, while that ruler did not appear to be in any particular hurry to confess or declare this.

It is significant to note here that even as these unpleasant notes were being exchanged, the negotiations for a "supplemental treaty for the decision of questions of disputed boundary between the two states"¹³⁶ which had been going on for sometime now, ended in a perfectly satisfactory treaty being concluded between the British and the Oudh Governments on January 14, 1812.¹³⁷ This helps to show that the diplomatic stalemate over the Reform question had rendered neither party absolutely unreasonable and incapable of realising its own interests.

(To be continued)

136. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 229.
137. Aitchison: Op. Cit. p. 138-141.

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The Services of St. Francis Xavier to the Travancore State

BY

FR.. C. K. MATTOM, M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A. (LONDON)

It is not widely known that the great Catholic missionary, St. Francis Xavier, rendered yeoman service to the State of Travancore in warding off a formidable attack from the Naick-Ruler of Madura in A.D. 1544. As the Fourth Centenary of the death of the Saint is to be celebrated in the coming December by Christians throughout India, a brief account of this historical event may be timely.

When young Francis Xavier, previously a noted Professor of the Sorbonne University of Paris, scion of a noble family of Spain, came to India in 1542, his mind was fully taken up with the work of ameliorating the condition, economic as well as moral, of the poorest people of the Coast. He worked assiduously for many years among these poor people, with Kottar (part of Nagercoil Town) as his headquarters. While engaged in such humanitarian labours, an opportunity came to him for rendering valuable service to the then ruler of Travancore. It came about this way.

Although long an independent kingdom, Travancore State had to enter into some sort of subordinate alliance with the Vijayanagar Empire after its meteoric rise in the 16th Century. Various efforts were made since to push to the extreme south the sway of the Vijayanagar empire.

Chellappa, one of the subordinate governors of Vijayanagar, revolted against Krishnadevaraya, the then Emperor of Vijayanagar. The former was defeated in battle by the imperial army and so fled to Travancore where he was welcomed by the Maharaja. The Maharaja made an alliance with him. Both together then invaded the Pandian kingdom to recapture the southernmost portion of Travancore on the Tinnevely side which the Pandian Kingdoms had taken from the predecessors of the King of Travancore. According to Fr. Heras, the name of this Maharaja is Bhuthala Sri Vira Udaya Marthanda Varma (1494-1535) of the Thiru-

pathur branch. With the help of Chellappa and taking advantage of the Emperor's illness, Marthanda Varma over-ran a large portion of the Pandian territory, consisting of the whole District of Tinnevelley.¹

Kumaralinga Naik of Madura also rebelled against the Pandian and joined the invaders.² The unfortunate ruler, Sri Vallabha Deva, retreated and sent an appeal for help to the Emperor, who had passed away in the meantime. The new emperor, Achutharaya, being appraised of the rebellion of Chellappa, and of the attacks of the Raja of Travancore against the Pandian, resolved to invade Travancore and redeem the Pandians. Hence he ordered his brother-in-law, Chinna Thirumaladeva to prepare an expedition to the South. Achutharaya himself took up the command and proceeded with the army till Srirangam. Thence he sent his troops under the command of Chinna Thirumaladeva, who in his turn appointed one of his subordinate officers to march against the allied enemies. Marthanda Varma was defeated in the battle and was led to Sreerangam where the Emperor was halting. The Maharaja was not only made a tributary again, but also was ordered to hand over Chellappa and to give up the southernmost portion of his kingdom to the Pandian, who was reinstated as a vassal of Vijayanagar.³

Later, availing himself of the disturbed conditions existing both in Vijayanagar and in Pandia, the Maharaja of Travancore refused payment of the tribute and tried to regain his lost possessions. Visuananda, the Pandian king appealed to the Emperor. Hence Vithala, the cousin of Ramaray the Regent, was appointed Generalissimo of the army of Vijayanagar to lead an army to the south. The first country which Vithala invaded was Travancore of which the king at the time was Buthala Vira Sree Vira Kerala Varma, alias Unni Kerala Varma.⁴

1. Faria Y. Souza, *Asia Portuguesa*, Vol. I, p. 81, Nagam Ayya, *The Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 297.

2. Rangacharry, *The History of the Naik Kingdom of Indian Antiquities*, XLIII, p. 189.

3. See inscription of Bhuthala Vira Rama Varma at Sucheendrum.

4. See S. Paramesura Aiyar, Article in *Christian College Magazine*, Vol. 22 p. 188.

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The Pandian king naturally offered every facility to the invaders and joined the Vijayanagar troops. Bartoli and Souza are of the opinion that the Madura Naik was at the head of this expedition.⁵ Krishnappa, the son of the Naik was also in the campaign together with Chinna Timma, the brother of the Generalissimo and the Governor of Chandragiri.

Accompanied by all these stalwart chiefs, Vithala set out for Travancore at the beginning of July, 1544. They entered Travancore through the Aruvamushi Pass. Souza says that Aruvamushi pass was the only way to Travancore on that side, which came round by Cape Comorin.⁶ But across the hills of Papanasam there is a way that was formerly used for traffic. Ranganatha Aiyar says that this was likely the way followed by the army of Vithala on this occasion.⁷ Fr. Souza, on the contrary, is of opinion that they came down through the mountains in the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin, that divide Travancore from the Coromandel Coast.

When the news of this attack spread in Travancore, the people got alarmed and a large number of them fled northwards. Francis Xavier writes in one of his letters, that he visited these unfortunate people who were constantly the target of the attacks of Badagas, the vanguard of the Vijayanagar Troops.

Unni Kerala Varma also gathered a large army from all his dominions and got ready to encounter the enemies. When they were approaching the capital, Kalkulam, he was informed of the fact that the Telugu and Tamil armies were not only more numerous but also more formidable than his particularly due to their disciplined cavalry and superior equipment. Fr. Souza says that the Brahmin chronicles of Travancore relate that the king at this juncture sent for Francis Xavier and asked him for help since the independence of his kingdom was threatened. It might be that the Sovereign wanted to make all alliance with the Portuguese through the influence of the Saint. But the holy man, engaged as he was only in matter spiritual answered that the sole help he

5. Bartoli, *Dell'Istoria della Campagnia di Jesu, L'Asia*, I.P. 123, Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I., p. 142.

6. *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 142.

7. Ranganatha Aiyar, *Aruvamushi Pass, or the Open Gateway of Travancore*, p. 19-20.

could render him was his prayers, a missionary as he was and not a soldier. No doubt, Xavier fulfilled his promise.⁸

Meanwhile Vithala's army advanced triumphantly through the country, when they were but a few miles north of Kottar, the Vanguard stopped suddenly, being unable to take a single step further. The officers in the rear ordered the soldiers to march on, but their efforts failed and the officers learned with dismay the reason of that sudden halt from the very mouth of the soldiers, for they said. "A tall majestic man dressed in black appeared in front of us reprimanding and ordering us to retreat at once."⁹

The officers of the army, with Visuanatha and Vithala themselves, could then verify the fact; for Xavier was still standing in front of the army in a gigantic form with dignified countenance, barring the way to the capital.¹⁰ Such a stern command Vithala dared not disobey, and so he ordered the troops to retreat.

Thus was Travancore saved through the intervention of Francis Xavier when Unni Kerala Varma, having absolutely no hope of victory, was on his way with the army to meet the dreaded enemy.

We can very well imagine what relief he consequently felt when he was informed by the witnesses of the sudden retreat of the Vijayanagar troops at the command of Xavier. No wonder, then, that the Maharaja, in a transport of joy, came out of his camp near Kottar to welcome the "Saviour" of his country with unusual marks of affection, gratitude and veneration and addressed him thus. "They call me the Great King; but hereafter they will always call you the "Great Father". Accordingly the king issued a proclamation commanding his subjects throughout the kingdom to give the title to the Father in future and also to obey him as if he were the person of the king himself.¹¹ This explains why St. Francis Xavier is known as "Valia Padree" in our country.

The above incident has been narrated in various authoritative books dealing with the missionary labours of the Jesuit Society, some of them of early date, especially L. Bartoli, "History of the

8. Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 142-3.

9. Du Jarric, *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, I, p. 148 (Cologne, 1615)

10. Souza, *Op. Cit.* p. 143.

11. S. Paramesura Aiyar, *Christian College Magazine*, Vol. 22, p. 190.

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Society of Jesus in Asia" (1603), Vol. I, Thursellini's "Life of St. Francis Xavier (1598), and Lucena's *Historia da Vida do Padhe Francis Xavier*" (1600). The Travancore State Manual by Nagam Aiyah (1908) states as follows. "The Raja of Travancore was indebted to Xavier for deliverance from danger, a panic having, it is said, been produced in the ranks of the Badagas by the sudden appearance of Xavier in front of their host, crucifix in hand. Thus the Badagas failed in their attempt to conquer Travancore."

St. Francis, however makes abundant references to his intimate relations with the King of Travancore, particularly in his letters addressed to Fr. Mansilhas. For brevity's sake, I shall quote only their dates. Manapad, Aug. 3, 19, 20, 1554; Punnakayal, Aug. 21, 1554; Alannthalai, Sept. 5, 1554; Trichendur, Sept. 7, 1554; Manapad, Sept. 10, 1554 etc.

This extra ordinary intimacy between a foreign Christian missionary and a Hindu King could not be satisfactorily explained unless the King himself felt indebted to the former in a special manner.

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Linguistic Investigation of some Place-names in Karnatak

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Place names in any country have a valuable history behind them. They are worth studying from linguistic point of view. An attempt is made here to study a few place names in Karnatak linguistically.

A large number of village names end in Koppa, e.g., Bannikoppa, Chikkoppa, Hirekoppa etc. If we take into consideration the adjectives Chikka and Hire in place names like Chikkoppa, Hirekoppa, it is evident that 'Koppa' should mean a village. Is that its root meaning?

The root is Kuppu. It means to heap, to heap up, to lay in a heap. (Vide Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary and Shabdamanidarpana-Dhatukosha). The word 'Gumpu' may be derived from Kuppu. Kuppu > Kumpu > Gumpu. Tamil word for Gumpu is Kumpu. Gumpu or Kumpu as we all know means a mass, a heap, a crowd, a number. Another derivative noun from the root Kuppu is Koppal. (Vide Shabdamanidarpana pp. 48 Mangalore Edition-1872). Kittel gives the word 'Koppal' as equivalent to Koppala, Koppa-meaning a heap or a small hamlet. In Tamil it is used as Kuppal. It is clear from the above analysis that the original root is Kuppu meaning to heap. The noun Koppal meaning a hamlet is derived from this root Kuppu. Koppala and Koppa are the derivatives from the noun Koppal. So, Koppala and Koppa mean a village or a hamlet since a village or a hamlet means a group of people living together. It is of course a secondary sense. Koppala and Koppa both are used to convey this secondary sense viz., village. Ancient Koppananagar or the modern Koppal is still called Koppala. The word which in general means a village is given to that particular hamlet. Koppa is used with and without adjectives to convey the sense of several villages. This is how we find that a number of place names end in Koppa. Kuppi and

Guppi that are derived from the same root are used in the same sense as Koppa, a village. Mukkuppi, Shiraguppi, Yaraguppi etc. may be named here for example. Gumpi, which means a heap or a mass can be derived from this Kuppi or Guppi.

'Gunda' is another word very often associated with place names. Navalgunda (Navil-Gunda), Naragunda (Nari-Gunda), Mulgunda (Mul-Gunda), Hunagunda (Hon-Gunda), Okkund and many names of this type may be cited. Gunda means a village. There is a village by name Gunda, Head Quarters of a Range Forest Officer, in Dharwar District. This word 'Gunda' seems to have been derived from Konda which means a hill or a mountain (Vide Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary). The word Gudda seems to have been derived from Konda.

Konda > Gunda > Gudda.

The interchange of O and U is quite common in Dravidian languages. D is duplicated the nasal in the middle being assimilated. Konda (Kannada), Kunra (Tamil) Konde (Telugu) and Kunna (Malayalam) are all the derivatives of one and the same root and convey the same sense. (Vide Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary). Konda is equal to Gunda and means a hill or a raised spot. (Cf. Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary). From this it is clear that Gunda is derived from Konda and primarily means a hill or a mountain or a raised spot. Navilgunda would then mean a mountain of peacocks; Narigunda a mountain of jackals. The villages close to these mountains were called by the very names of the mountains by virtue of their vicinity. Thus the word Gunda which meant a mountain primarily conveyed secondarily the sense of the village near the mountain, and later on it might have in general meant a village.

Keshiraj gives in his *Shabdamani Darpana* the word Kondam as the Tadbhava of Kundam (Sūtra 270). In Pampa Ramayana Ashwas X after the verse 183 we find the expression- 'Kondanga lanogedu'. In that context it means Yajñakonda or a hole where sacrificial oblations are offered. Konda then means a hole. It has then attained the meaning pond. Gunda might thus mean Kundam or pond. It is used in this sense by the village folk. Can we derive the word Gunda denoting a village from the Sanskrit Kunda. But the village names like Mulgunda, Navilgunda and Narigunda support the first interpretation as they are quite close to hills. Other Dravidian-languages have the same word in a

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slightly changed form. So, for the present we cannot derive the word Gunda from Sanskrit Kunda until we find several villages which possess Kundas or ponds and on that account the word Gunda is applied to their names. Gundi of Nidgundi also might have been derived from Gunda or Kunda.

Kurudigi, Nandargi, Karajagi, Mundargi, Kundargi-names of this type are quite common in Karnatak. Here 'gi' appears like a suffix suggesting various places. Place names like Athargā, Bāligā that end in gā are also to be found. In all probability 'gi' and gā might have been related to each other. Gā might have been derived from Gāma — *tadbhava* of Grāma. Grāma becomes gāma and gāma has changed to gaon and gā. Names like Belgaum, Degam are pronounced as ending in gaon. Nasal at the end having been dropped only gā appears to remain in names like Athargā, Baligā etc. Words ending in ā are changed to e and i in Kannada. In colloquial Kannada words ending in ā are all changed to i like Shalā-sāli, Malā-Mali etc. Similarly gā might have been changed to gi. Thus we derive 'gi' from grama —

Grāma, > Gāma, > Gaon, > Gā, > gi.

Polal of the old Kannada, meaning a town, a city seems to have been changed to bal and ol. Names like Dambal, Hombal, Kotabal, Mudhol, Sirol indicate these changes.

Dharma-Polal. > Dhamma Polal. > Dambol > Dambal.

Similarly Honna Polal- > Honbolal- > Hombal. > Hombala and so on. The same Polal is changed to ol. Mudu Polal- > Mudhuvolal- > Mudhol. Siri Polal- > Sirivolal- > Sirol.

Thus 'bal' and ol being derived from Polal are used as suffixes, and such names form a class by themselves.

Hills and mountains afforded protection for the people in ancient times. Hence, towns and cities were built by the side of such hills or mountains. The word 'Kal' was used to express this sense. Hanagal, (Panungal), Torgal (Toregal), Kandagal, Talakal, Naregal, Yaragal, Bhandargal etc., may be cited here for example.

Just as towns and cities were built by the side of hills and mountains, so also they were founded near rivers and ponds i.e., in places where water could be had easily and in plenty. Koḷa has been used to convey the sense of villages built near the ponds. Anagol, (Ane-koḷa), Huilgoḷa (Puil-Koḷa), Kundagol, Amaragol, Gummagol etc., are names of this type.

A large number of places like Mālawāḍa, Dodvāḍa, Dhār-wāḍa, Kōliwāḍa, have their names ending in wāḍa. Wāḍa, Bāḍa and wāṭa are synonyms and mean an enclosure, a piece of enclosed ground, a court yard, a compound, an enclosure of a village or a town and so on. Bāḍa is used in the sense of a village in ancient classical Kannada works. 'Sandhigeyalke Beḍidare Pāṇḍu Tañu-bhavareydu Bāḍamam' (Gadayuddha). Wāḍa may be derived from the Dravidian root Paḍu to sleep.

Paḍu > Pāta > Wāta > Wāḍa.

Uru and Kēri are the two words very often applied to the names of places in Karnatak. In fact majority of place names end in Ūru or Kēri. Kallūru, Mallūru, Antūru, Bentūru, Navalūru, Annigēri, Abbigēri, and so on. This list perhaps can go to any length. So commonly are these terms used Ūru itself is a root and means to be, to exist, to stay, to stop, to reside, to settle, to take up one's abode, to put down, or fix on the ground, to plant etc. Nomadic people giving up their wanderings settled at some time in some place where they could get food, water and shelter. The new villages or towns were planted thus. Hence the term Ūru came to express this sense of planting new places. The word Ūru is still used in the sense of planting (Bija Ūru).

Kēri (Tamil Cheri, Telugu and Tulu Gēri) means a street. So it came to have the sense of a village ultimately and began to be used with place names.

Haṭṭi and kōṭe are two more words which are generally used to express the idea of a village, town or city. Haṭṭi might have been derived from the root Paḍu to sleep viz., Paḍu > Paṭṭi > Haṭṭi just as Bidu > Bitti. The place where sheep sleep or take rest is called kuri hatti. Ultimately the place where people sleep or take rest also came to be termed as Haṭṭi; and this was used to express place names like Kuru Hatti (a small village), Siri Haṭṭi (a place of prosperity), Bana Hatti (a place in the forest) and so on.

Kōṭe is a well known word both in Dravidian languages and Sanskrit. It means a rampart, a fort or a wall round a town. This word has been largely used in Karnatak and else where in India to express the idea of village, town or city. Hulkoti (Hul-Kote), Taḷikoti- (Taḷi-kote) Bagalkoti (Bagal-kote) etc., are a few names amongst many of this group.

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The word Katti (Katte) which means a structure of earth or stone to sit upon for resting is very often used to express the sense of a village or town. Hunshikatti, Benkatti, Mavinkatti etc., may be named here. In a village a 'Katte' built round a tamarind tree was very prominent and so the village was gradually called Hunshikatti. In another village a 'Mavin Katti' was prominent and hence it was called Mavinkatti and so on. Katti (katte) thus came to convey by lakṣhṇā the secondary sense—'village'.

Bīdu, Bīdi—derivatives of the root Bidu are sometimes used as terminations, suggesting place names. Names like Haḷe Bīdu, Hārūbīdi, Bīdi, may be given for example.

It is very interesting to notice that words like Sāgara, and Samudra are used to convey the sense of a village. Hanamasāgara, Gudisāgar, Nagasamudra, Mallasamudra etc., such names can be quoted profusely.

We have so far considered a few groups of place names with regard to their bases. Since the purpose of the present article is to discuss only the bases, the adjectives that describe those villages and thereby help us to get the history of those places, have not been considered. That may form the historical study of place names. This is only a linguistic investigation of some of the place names. Many more groups of place names can thus be taken up for linguistic investigation.

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A Note on the Ancient Political Geography of the Indus Valley

BY

K. C. OJHA, M.A.

Allahabad University

The Geographical alignment of north-western India—towards the Middle East rather than towards the Gangetic basin

Some modern circumstances have accustomed us to think of north western India as closely connected with the Gangetic plain. Geographically, however, these two regions are separate from each other.

At first sight the chains of the Hindukush and Soliman mountains appear to shut out the Indus Valley from the western world leaving it only in contiguity with northern India. These ranges are, however, merely broad ridges, backed by no plateaus and notched by some relatively low passes. They, therefore, have never been effective barriers either in military operations or in commercial communications. On the other hand, the river-system of the Indus, being connected with the Kābul river-system, verges towards the north-western border adjacent to Iran, and forms, as it were, a common Indo-Iranian domain stretching far away in western Asia without any check. This natural alignment of north-western India with the western world has been further augmented by an ever-open and free sea-course. But in the east the Indus river-system is not only not connected with any river of northern India, but it is even separated from the rest of India by the sandy lands of Thar which must have been a great obstacle to communication in olden times. Moreover there are indications in the old Indian literature that belts of dense forests separated the Indus basin from the Gangetic plain. While there was a deep forest near the source of the Ganges,¹ the banks of the river Sarasvatī were covered by the Kāmyaka forest,² and those of the Jumna by the Khāṇḍava.³ Somewhere near about these forests we have to place

1. Rig-Veda, V, 61, 17-19; Mbh., I, 138, 74; 150 f; 166; IV, 5, 4; IX, 41.

2. Mbh., III, 5, 3.

3. Mbh., I, 222, 14; 223, 1.

even the wild region called Kurujāngala.⁴ Communication through these forests must have been rendered still more difficult by a number of rivers passing through them. Within these parts flowed the rivers Aruṇā (which joined the Sarasvatī near Pehoa), Arṇusmatī, Hiraṇvatī, Āpayā (Āpayā or Oghavatī, a branch of the Chitang), Kauśikī (a branch of the Rokshī) as well as the Sarasvatī and the Drishadvatī or the Rokshī.⁵ Here, too, was situated Saryānāvatī, which the authors of the Vedic Index consider to have been a lake,⁶ like that known to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa by the name of Anyataḥplakshā.⁷ The Mahābhārata mentions the lake Dvaitavana as well as a forest called Dvaitavana which spread over the banks of the river Sarasvatī.⁸ Though controlled considerably in modern times by the scientific inventions, all these geographical conditions must have told strongly upon our early history as the consequence of which in ancient times the Indus valley appears much more related to the western world rather than to the other parts of India.

*Relationship of north-western India with the Middle East
from about 2000 B.C. onwards.*

There are indications that from the earliest times of the Indus Age north-western India had been closely connected in the west not only with Baluchistan and Afghanistan but perhaps even with Iraq, Egypt and Crete. The existence of this connection is proved even in the period of composition of the earliest parts of the Avesta and the Rīgveda, when the Aryan ancestors of the Hindus and Persians still formed an undivided branch of the Indo-European stock. Prior to the seventh century B.C., and for numerous ages afterwards, there is further proof of relations between Persia and western India through the facts of trade in antiquity, especially through the early commerce between India and Babylon.⁹ But

4. Mbh., I, 109, 1; 149, 5-15; II, 26-32; III, 83, 204; Ptolemy, VII, 1, 42.

5. For the identification and location of some of the streams see Mbh. III, 83, 95, 151; V, 151, 78; Cunningham's Arch. Rep. for 1878-79 quoted in JRAS, 1883, 363 n.; Smith, Oxford History, p. 29; and H. C. Raychaudhuri, Pol. Hist. of Anc. India, 5th Ed., 1950, pp. 21-23, 68-70.

6. A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, Ved. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 169-170.

7. Set. Br., XI, 5; I, 4.

8. Mbh., III, 24-25.

9. J. Kennedy, The Early Commerce of India with Babylon, 700-300 B.C., JRAS., 1898, pp. 241-288; V. A. Smith, Early History of India, 4th ed. Oxford, 1924, p. 29 n. 1; W. H. Schoff, JAOS, XXXIII, 352; Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 104; Rawlinson, Intercourse between India and the Western

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north-western India does not seem to have any such intimate relations with the Gangetic valley.

But the Gangetic basin unknown in north-western India before the 4th century B.C.

Although the Aryans most probably came over the Indus valley to the Gangetic plain, the oldest Purāṇic traditions of the Hindus betray complete want of information about the ruling dynasties of the north-west. The earliest Buddhist traditions also have little knowledge of this part. There are some passages in the quite early works, which, pouring detestation on these parts of India, show, in their own way, ignorance of the Hindus about them. Thus a passage of the Atharvaveda consigns Takman or fever to the Gandhāris along with other peoples like the Mujavantas, the Aṅgas and the Māgadhas.¹⁰ A similar account of the Baudhāyana-Dharmaśūtra enjoins that one should perform purificatory ceremonies if per chance he goes to the land of the Aratṭas etc.¹¹ A verse of the Mahābhārata states that sacrifice gives no result in the lands of the Madras and Gandhāris.¹² North-western India also in its part appears to have little intercourse with eastern India.¹³ Skylax of Caryanda, who surveyed the Indus,¹⁴ and thus came himself to north-western India about 515 B.C., seems to have been given no information even about the existence of the Gangetic plain. Persian documents and the work of Skylax possibly formed the basis of the Indian account of the Geography of Hecataeus of Miletus,¹⁵ which was composed C.

World from the Earliest times to the Fall of Rome, pp. 1-32; Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, *IHQ*, XXVI, 1950, pp. 101-102; and the *Hist. and Cult of Ind. People*, Vol. I, ch. IX and Vol. II, ch. XXIV.

10. Atharva, 22, 14.

11. Baudh. Dharm., 1, 2, 14.

12. Mbh., III, 40.

13. Speaking about the Gangetic basin in his speech, as reported by Curtius, Alexander states that this region was quite new and unknown even to the Indians of the north-west, "We are standing now almost on the earth's utmost verge, and yet you are preparing to go to a sphere altogether new—to go in quest of an India unknown even to the Indians themselves. You would find root out from their hidden recesses and dens a race of men that herd with snakes and wild beasts, so that you may traverse as a conqueror more regions than the sun surveys". (Curtius, IX, 3 Cf. M'Crimble, *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 228).

14. Herodotus, IV, 44.

15. C. Muller, *Fragmenta Historicum*. Fragments 174-179.

500 B.C., and that of the History of Herodotus,¹⁶ which was written C. 450 B.C. The knowledge of India of both these writers stops almost completely on the river Indus beyond which they know nothing but a great desert of sand. Towards the end of the fourth century B.C., Alexander himself, even after making enquiries from Poros and Phegeus,¹⁷ could not come to know of the actual circumstances of the Gangetic plain, and he thought that across the river Indus he was soon at the end of India coming to the sea situated at the end of the earth.¹⁸ Curtius has stated clearly that Alexander could not go further in east only on account of difficulties of the path caused by vast deserts, rapid rivers and forests.¹⁹

Thus it seems that in ancient times north-western India formed a part of the western world, and not that of the Gangetic basin.

16. Herodotus, III, 89-106; and IV, 44. Cf. M'Crindle, *Ancient India as Described in Class. Lit. by Herod. etc.*, pp. 1-5.

17. Diodorus, XVII, 93. Cf. M'Crindle, *Inv. Alex.*, p. 281; Curtius, IX, 2 Cf. M'Crindle, *Inv. Alex.*, p. 221.

18. Arrian, V, Cf. M'Crindle, *Inv. Alex.*, p. 123; Curtius, IX, 3. Cf. M'Crindle, p. 228.

19. Curtius (IX, 2. Cf. M'Crindle, p. 221) says that Alexander learnt from Phegeus that "beyond the river (Beas) lay extensive deserts which it would take eleven days to traverse", and further that "the attestation of Poros to the truth of what he had heard made the king anxious on manifold grounds; for while he thought contemptuously of the men and elephants that would oppose him, he dreaded the difficult nature of the country that lay before him, and in particular, the impetuous rapidity of the rivers". Further more Curtius (IX, 3 Cf. M'Crindle, p. 228) makes Alexander speak to his soldiers about the wild people of the Gangetic basin, "We are standing now almost on the earth's utmost verge, and yet you are preparing to go to a sphere altogether new—to go in quest of an India unknown even to Indians themselves. You would fain root out from their hidden recesses and dens a race of men that herd with snakes and wild beasts so that you may traverse as a conqueror more regions than the sun surveys."

Reviews

SELECTIONS FROM THE ORME MANUSCRIPTS, Edited by
Diwan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachariar, M.A. Published by
Annamalai University, Annamalaiagar, 1952. Pages xxv +
394. Price Rs. 15/-.

The editor of this volume Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari did not live to see its publication and passed away only when a small part of the book had been printed. The Introduction, more a sketch of Orme's life and work and of the well known general history of the Carnatic wars than a specific comment on the documents printed here, is furnished by Prof. R. Sathianathier, the successor of the late professor in the Annamalai University. We learn from the Preface, also by Mr. Sathianathier, that the publication of the book was undertaken by the Annamalai University in accordance with 'a five-year publication plan' drawn up in 1942 by the then Imperial Record Department, now the National Archives of India. The plan was in three parts: (1) Fort William—India House Correspondence (21 Volumes); (2) Selections from English Records (5 Volumes) — both to be financed by the Government of India; and (3) (a) Records in oriental languages (8 Volumes) and (b) Selections from English Records 5 Volumes— both these to be published by Universities and learned Societies at their own expense.

The present reviewer has had occasion to review a volume of selections from Sanskrit Records published by the G. Jha Research Institute; the passing doubt which arose then in his mind whether these selections were worth the trouble and expense of publishing *in extenso* is now more or less confirmed by a perusal of the present volume. It seems that except on the principle that all material that has found its way into archives must be published irrespective of its present historical worth it is difficult to justify the third part of the ingenious plan which purports to take the universities and learned societies into partnership but in reality relegates to them a very insignificant part of the work; but the latter seem to have taken the bait.

The present selection, we are not told who made them, when and on what principles, include fifteen sections covering events from 1751 to 1760, and varying in nature and content from a long journal of the Coromandal war (over a hundred pages) to small notes elucidating points referred to his correspondents for elucidation, and dry-as-dust diaries of sieges and route marches. These

are in fact the raw material out of which Orme prepared his epic account of the Carnatic Wars, and their present importance lies almost exclusively in the peep they afford into the historian's workshop. The editorial notes are not few, nor always quite relevant, and are gathered in an unhandy form at the end of each section under the curious caption 'footnote'. They are not also free from factual errors which, however, we should do well to remember have not had the benefit of a final revision by the editor. The printing and get up of the book are quite good though there is no index.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN COINS, PART II (Muhammadan and Later Series) compiled by C. R. Singhal, Published by the Numismatic Society of India, Bombay, 1952. Pages v and 220.

This is a welcome addition to the slender stock of bibliographical aids to Indian historical studies and it completes Mr. Singhal's bibliography of which Part I was published in 1950. In addition to the titles of articles and references, it contains brief workmanlike summaries of the articles which are very helpful indeed. The arrangement is convenient and makes for easy reference, and to this extent Mr. Singhal may rest assured that Part II of the Bibliography will command as friendly a reception as Part I. The author says modestly in his Introduction 'No pretence, however, is made that this is an absolutely exhaustive work on the subject. Still (the) utmost attempt has been made to make it as exhaustive as possible.' No one can reasonably expect more of the Compiler of a work of reference of this character. Omissions noticed later can find publication as a supplement in the journal of the Society.

It seems, however, a pity that there should appear in the book some glaring defects which with a little care could easily have been avoided. Section M (Muhammadan Miscellaneous) concludes on p. 75 with a tail attached to the page and containing an entry numbered 'M 37. Unvala. J.M.' after 'M 36. Whithead R.B.'—the numbers should really be reversed in the alphabetical order, but this perhaps involved a reprinting of two pages. Again after page 180, the page numbers 180 A—D occur before 181 and the section on Sassanian Coins pages 180 D—186 seems to have come in as an after-thought which does not bear a serial number which must have been AA as Z had already been reached with the section on Maldivian Islands, and which has been ignored

in the Index of Authors. Likewise the Bibliography of Reference Books (pages 187-95), and of Indo-Portuguese books, Journals and Catalogues (196-202) do not also figure there, and the reader has to discover these things for himself as he gets no warning of them from the author.

I am not a numismatist, and would not presume to tell the numismatists of India their plain duty. But I cannot help expressing my feeling as a general student of Indian History that there is a wide gap between the standard of publication that prevailed in the Numismatic Supplements of the J(R)ASB and those of the Numismatic Society of India, including its now well known Journal. The defects I have pointed out above, technical and mechanical, are symptomatic of the acceptance of lower standards of technique which must be deemed unfortunate in a work of this kind. Hoping that this matter will attract the attention of the Society and be set right in due course, I have no hesitation in recording my entire accord with the praise Dr. V. S. Agrawal has bestowed in his Foreword on the work of Mr. Singhal and with his exhortation to Museum officials and others that a more systematic and regular use should be made by them of the Society's Journal to keep its work up-to-date and up to the mark.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

EXCAVATIONS AT BRAHMAPURI (KOLHAPUR) 1945-46 by Hasmukh Sankalia, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D (London) and Moreshwar Gangadhar Dikshit, B.A., Ph.D. Published by the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1952, (Price Rs. 30/-).

Archaeological excavations in India have been comparatively few and even they are not well distributed. Excavations at the sites of the early historical period are important on account of the great help they give for a study of the sequence of the earlier and later cultures. Work on such sites in the Deccan is particularly valuable. Already some work has been done in this direction viz., excavations at Chandravalli and Kondapur. Of late the work of the Archaeological Department in this field is supplemented by the work of institutions engaged in Indological research. The Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, is one such institution and it has done well in undertaking excavation work at Brahmapuri in the former Kolhapur State with a view to find out the possibility of establishing a sequence of cultures representing the little known historical periods in the Deccan. Interest in the excavation at the site was created by the discovery

of a bronze Graeco-Roman statuette (Poseidon, Roman God of the Sea), bronze vessels, a toy cart and other interesting objects in trial diggings on the western side of the mound. Fruitful excavations on scientific lines were conducted at the site by Prof. H. D. Sankalia and Dr. M. E. Dikshit of the Institute in 1945-46 and the monograph under review is an authentic account of the same.

Kolhapur as revealed from the excavation and stratigraphy of the place appears to have had a very ancient history starting from as far back as the second of the first century B.C. During the early period it stood on the banks of the R. Panchaganga with a number of well-built brick houses. Probably destroyed by fire late in the Satavahana period, it was reoccupied in the eleventh and twelfth centuries during the Silahara rule when huge temples were constructed there. After the period of the Yadavas and the Bahmanis the place was submerged by floods; but it seems to have become once again important under Sivaji and Aurangzeb.

The different layers of the excavated site have yielded many objects of interest, among which are several coins belonging mostly to the Satavahanas, Silaharas and the Bahmanis. A fragmentary coin of considerable importance has been doubtfully ascribed to the reign of Aurangzeb. Quite a large number of pots, complete and fragmentary, belong to the post-Satavahana and Bahmani periods and they are generally wheel-turned ones rather than hand-made ones. Terracotta figurines as also those made of stone and metal have also been found. One metal figure is that of Goddess Parvati with unique features, and interesting for the student of Hindu iconography. The numerous beads excavated are found to be made of different metals and the time span over which they are distributed must help one interested in the study of the history of bead-making at the place. Many places of monochrome and polychrome glass bangles have been recovered from the upper layers and a few chank shell, lac, bone and ivory things from the lower ones, the former belonging to the Bahmani period and the latter to the Satavahana period. Brahmapuri has not however yielded many tools and weapons. The few that have been found are arrows or javelin heads, hunting dagger knife etc.

The volume contains a number of useful illustrations which include a contour map of the Brahmapuri mound, 31 line drawings and 37 plates. Probably chapter V is a mistake for Chapter IV in the contents.

Though it is not possible to establish proper links between the objects excavated at Brahmapuri and elsewhere in India now the monograph under review throws much useful light on the

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cultural affinities and local peculiarities in the material culture as revealed by the excavations at the place. The book which is written with much care and based on available data is a welcome addition to the slender literature we have on the history and culture of the region with which it deals.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

THE GUPTA POLITY by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, Madras University; published by the University of Madras, 1952; pp. viii + 427; Price Rs. 15/-.

The above is a companion volume to the learned author's work on Mauryan Polity which was published by the University of Madras in 1932. In the two works, the author has given an exhaustive treatment of Hindu Polity that functioned with so much success during the long period — between the Mauryan and Gupta Empires. The success upon which he has drawn in writing the present work are literary texts on political treatises like the *Kamandakiya Nitisara*, the *Puranas* and the Gupta Inscriptions and coins, besides the unique account of India left by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien of the fifth century A.D. The Literary texts dealt with do not include the important literature of Kalidasa, as the author has come to the 'irresistable conclusion' that Kalidasa did not belong to the Gupta period but to the earlier Sunga period and lived in the second century B.C. It is a matter of particular pleasure to me personally that I have myself throughout held that view. The chapter on the sources of information is very full and exhaustive. In the chapter dealing with the extent of the Empire, it is pointed out that the Gupta Empire included not only considerable territories in the Deccan and South India, but also colonies in the Far East. There are chapters dealing with the Central Government, Provincial Government, Local Institutions, and Military Administration. The subject of Religion in the Gupta period has also been dealt with very fully. The author has presented a new point that the Imperial Guptas were not really devotees of Vishnū as usually supposed, but were *Smartas* worshipping different gods like Siva, Vishnu, Kartikeya and Devi. On the whole, the work forms an important contribution to Gupta history in one of its important aspects. It is a notable addition to the list of numerous erudite works with which the author has throughout his life enriched the knowledge of ancient Indian history in its different aspects.

R. K. MOOKERJEE

ST. THOMAS, THE APOSTLE: A SOUVENIR OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY OF HIS ARRIVAL IN INDIA. (52-19 A.D.). Published by the Centenary Celebrations Committee Ernakulam, 1952.

In this small volume of exactly 114 pages a galaxy of learned men veritably steeped in the lore of the Thomistic traditions current in Malabar from times immemorial deal in the most scholarly way on the great questions connected with this Christian Apostle of revered memory. Dr. P. J. Thomas, M.A., B.Litt., D.Phil (Oxon) who has contributed more than half of the studies made in this booklet, is also its editor and he has also contributed in that capacity a very useful introduction to the volume, which deals in a few pages with the salient points connected with St. Thomas, and his sojourn in India.

The book contains eight papers and is divided into three parts dealing respectively with St. Thomas in South India, the Testimony of the early Fathers of the Church and the other missions of the Apostle. The subject of the Thomistic mission to India and particularly to South India is still considered a problem of Indian history and one feels after reading the learned treatises of these authors that the sooner we cease considering this as one of our historical problems the better it will be for the history of our land and for all those who wish to know something definite about it. It is the gibe of the western scholars that though Indian history dates from very early times it has little or nothing to say definitely about the history of many centuries particularly of the pre-Christian and early Christian eras; and the sooner we come to some decision on some at least of the vital points of our history the better it will surely be for all concerned. This seems to be obviously the case especially in matters for which evidences leading to a definite conclusion are not wanting, unless one is prejudicially or tendentially inclined.

The book under review presents before the reader a case in point. All the different strands of evidence drawn from tradition, the writings of the early Fathers of the Church, both Greek and Latin, and the Syriac writings and Liturgies have been massed together in this book proving in the first place that St. Thomas came to India, that he preached the Gospel here and died a martyr near San Thome where his remains lay buried for some time until Khabin in the IV century removed them to Edessa. Beginning from the well-known evidence of St. Ephrem (c. 390 A.D.) who sings in his *Carmen Nisibena* that St. Thomas preached to the dar

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people of India (whom he made fair by baptism), this work gathers together the more or less continuous evidence down the centuries, of St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Jerome (both contemporaries of St. Ephrem) of Gregory of Tours in the VI century of the emissaries of King Alfred of England in the IX, of Marco Polo and Monte Cormino in the XIII, of Oderic and Marignoli in the XIV, of Nicolo Conti in the XV and thus down to the coming of the Portuguese to India and the excavation they made at the site of the Apostle's tomb in San Thome, Madras in 1523 A.D. To these must be added the evidence of the Syriac Work entitled "Doctrine of the Apostles" placed beyond doubt in the II century A.D. which says very clearly: "India and all its own countries and those bordering on it even to the farther sea received the Apostle's hand of priesthood from Judas Thomas."

The book however seems to lay an even greater emphasis on the continuous evidence of tradition in Malabar pointing to the truth of the Thomistic role in the history of our country. Referring to what he describes as "the unique testimony" of tradition, the learned editor of these papers remarks that it "can be more reliable than coins or copper plates". This may be an astonishing statement from a person like Dr. Thomas; but all well intentioned students of our history do have many an occasion in the course of their investigations to exclaim in the same manner. There is something peculiarly trustworthy in traditions kept in a country like ours, which pay such homage to custom and what was heard from our ancestors. It is no secret that such an honoured work as the *vedas* were themselves passed from person to person for ages only through the ear; and nobody questions their authenticity to-day. Dr. Thomas argues further and says that Kerala with its peculiar social custom and practices its traditions ought to furnish one "unassailable evidence for the Apostolate of St. Thomas in South India".

The Kerala tradition is conveyed prominently by the "Song of Thoma Ramban", said to have been composed by Thoma Ramban II of the Malickal family from Niranam and redated in its present form by Thoma Ramban XLVIII of the same family c. 1600 A.D. The date of the first composer is generally given as 600 A.D. This is a song that has gone down for nearly a thousand years from mouth to mouth and ear to ear; still the matter it contains is strongly against the possibility of its being untrue to facts. It makes mention of the Cera and Cola reigning families and incidentally also of the Pandya at the time of Thomas i.e., in the I century A.D., and when

we bear in mind the fact conveyed to us by tradition that St. Thomas worked in South India, in Malabar and in the Coromandel coast round the region of Mylapore the mention of these two families rulers and only incidentally the Pandya house seems to be very reasonable.

The crucial point which this tradition as enshrined in the *Song* referred to conveys is that St. Thomas was commissioned by the Cola King to build a palace for him and that Habban, who is mentioned by the Syriac work the *Acta* also called *Acts of Judas Thomas*, was a messenger of the Cola King. Leaning on the Coins finds of Gondophares discovered in the last century, scholars like Fleet and others have made this Habban the agent of this Indo-Parthian King and even accepted the fact of the Apostle's arrival in his court and his mission in his kingdom. It is argued in this book that while the entire bottom of this theory is knocked out by the conclusion arrived at by the Dutch scholar, Van Lohuizen who places the date of Gondophares round 315 B.C., the *Song of Ramban* is actually more trustworthy than the *Acta* referred to above. While the Syriac work, which is largely apocryphal, contains absolutely fanciful names, the names in Ramban's work are identifiable; and it is too much to base one's theory on the single name 'Gudnapher' (found in the *Acta*) which also may not be easily taken as being the same as Gondophares. Reference may also be made to a Latin work (author not known) in which the name of the King who ordered the execution of Thomas is mentioned as a South Indian ruler named Kandappa Raja; and the name Gudnapher may be a variation of Kandappa as well as of Gondophares. More than all this is the internal evidence of the *Acta*, which mentions many customs and depicts a way of life which are distinctly South Indian. The last argument advanced is the fact that in the face of the long control which the East Syrians had maintained over Christianity in Malabar the *Song of Ramban* would not have been tolerated if what it contained was a travesty of true facts or even something to which the Syrians did not subscribe. It is not denied in all this that Thomas went to Persia or N. W. India. He might have gone there and even farther as far as China; but what is maintained here is that he came to South India and the *Acta* must be taken to bear testimony to this than to anything else in the life of the Apostle.

Much historical criticism decrying the fact of the advent of St. Thomas in India has no doubt been levelled from early times and it seems to have gone on in a cycle of belief and disbelief.

REVIEWS

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When the Portuguese began to spread this as an unassailable truth in the XVI century, the scholarly world received it with a smile of disbelief; but later in the XIX century great savants like Dr. Buchanan of the *Christian Researches* came to accept it without reservation. Writing in 1806, he says: "We have as good authority that Apostle Thomas died in India as that Apostle Peter died in Rome". The depression appeared again when Dr. Smith wrote that there was no evidence in proof of the Thomistic martyrdom in South India; and he himself closed the cycle in the last edition of the *Early History of India* when he said that opinion must veer round to the contrary view point. In our own times the cycle was commenced again by a few writers, who began questioning the truth of this mission of Thomas. The *Journal of Indian History* itself, to take but one example, has to show in the pages of its previous numbers many doubting views expressed in this particular. The dates of his arrival and death, the identity of the India to which he is said to have gone evangelising according to as old a work as the *Doctrine* to which reference has been made and lastly the place of his death and burial have all been called in question.

It is true that the dates which have now become more or less conventional with regard to the Thomistic activity in South India, the year 52 A.D., the date of his arrival at Meliankara near Cranganore, and 68 A.D., the date of his death given in the Latin inscription on the gospel side of the San Thome tomb — are doubtless drawn from tradition. But granting that the dates given in the Catholic Encyclopaedia for the death of the Blessed Virgin at which St. Thomas was absent and for the I council of the Apostles — the dates 48 A.D. and 50 A.D. respectively — are acceptable then the date 52 given for the arrival of St. Thomas on the west coast seems very reasonable. In view of the ingenious explanation given by Medlycooa which posits two separate missions of Thomas to India one being to the N.W. part of it and the other to the south it is easy to see that the apostle must have been in the N.W. round 48 A.D. and in the south round 52 A.D. after attending the council of the Apostles referred to above. It is to be admitted that the date 68 however is purely traditional. There may not be anything scientific at the basis of these decisions; but at least they appear natural. Mr. T. K. Joseph of Trivandrum has no doubt set forth elaborately arguments drawn from certain chronograms pointing to the date 317 for the arrival of some Christian preceptors from Baghdad and he would imply that this was the date of the first arrival of Christianity in Malabar. Besides the fact that there is a lot of confusion of Thomases in the Hindu traditions and records

of Malabar like the *Kerlorpathi* a chronogram drawn up by *nambudri* for his own purpose cannot be pressed too far. But the difficulty felt about the India which Thomas, the Apostle, visited though of a more fundamental nature appears too much of the nature of battling against the open door. When *Periplus* in 6 A.D. has no difficulty of referring to the Tamil country while speaking of the ships sailing from Cana on the Arabian coast to Demirica, what could withhold us from saying that India was well known to the West during the time of St. Thomas and to Thomas himself. In fact south of India in the first century A.D. was a land known to those in the West as well as it is to-day. The last great difficulty is the problem of the identification of Calamina to which Ahataalla refers as the place where St. Thomas died. Scholars have wandered as far as Kalyan near Bombay and far into the ocean as the Malaya Archipelago to find this place; and have not succeeded in finding it. If the Apostle should have died in some far away place of this name surely it would have beckoned them by this very repute. The fact seems to be that by Calamina only Mylapore is intended and we can say this without going into any kind of fanciful explanation as the one given by Bishop Teixeira once. There is more similarity between *Myla* and *Cala* than does exist between the placenames on the Parava coast and the synonyms found for them by St. Francis Xavier. A glance at his letters preserved in the *Monumenta Xaveriana* would bear out what is said here.

The small book, Thomas the Apostle meets all these doubts very satisfactorily indeed and it can be safely foreseen that it will close the ever-recurring cycle of doubts arising concerning the Thomistic connection with India and let us hope, for ever. Eminent writers like Rev. Dr. Placid, Rev. Dr. Ettumanookaran and Mr. K. E. Job besides Dr. P. J. Thomas have combined to make the book a remarkable success. Special attention of the reader must be drawn to the most thought-provoking article of Dr. Thomas on "Palli Vana Perumal—A Royal Disciple of St. Thomas," found as the IV paper in Part I of the book. It throws a much needed beam of light on the first conversions effected by the Apostle in Malabar especially on their nature. It is a pity that this valuable addition to the already existing literature on Thomas and India does not indicate by its *format* what it contains. Though it contains not very many pages the substance they enshrine is very meaty indeed.

M. AROKIASWAMI

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- I. *Bihar Research Society — The Journal of the*, Vol. XXXVIII, Part 2, June 1952, Patna.
 1. *The Judicial Administration of the East India Company in Bengal, 1765-1782* by Dr. Bankey Bihari Misra, Ch. IX (contd. from last issue).
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Lord Wellesley and the Provincial Battalions

BY

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D. LITT.,
University of Lucknow.

The history of the Sebundy Corps, a section of the Company's army, serving under the judges, magistrates, collectors and commercial residents in the lower provinces has not received the due attention from the historians. The Sebundy Corps performed duties of a semi-military nature, and thus were analogous in some ways to the old Pargana Battalions in Bengal. The several Sebundy Corps which continued till the time of Wellesley were already notorious for their inefficiency and corruption. It is to the credit of Wellesley that he decided to wind up¹ the Sebundy Corps, and reform and remodel that establishment with a view to ensure the due and proper performance of those services which were originally expected from the several Sebundy Corps. The reorganisation² of these corps is one of the characteristic reforms of Wellesley's regime, although it has not been properly studied by historians yet.

Lest the abrupt disbandment of the existing Sebundy Corps should cause grave inconvenience to the administration, a policy of gradual replacement was decided upon by Wellesley. It was agreed by the Governor-General-in-Council after due consideration of the whole matter that the Sebundy Corps would be continued on their present footing up to November 1, 1803, and that from and after that date these would be replaced by what were called the new Provincial Battalions. It is these Battalions which would now supply detachments for the performance of the duties formerly assigned to the whole of the Sebundy Corps in the Bengal provinces.³

The official records⁴ indicate that the new Battalions were formed on a sound footing so as to obviate the old evils associated

1. Fort William Proceedings, Sept. 1, 1803.

2. Military Department Proceedings, Aug. 25, 1803.

3. Military General Orders, 1803.

4. Orders from the Judicial, Revenue and Public Departments, 1803.

with the 'Sebundies. The new Battalions were to be commanded by European commissioned officers. They were to be subject to martial law. They would be formed, paid and clothed according to the plan which had been adopted for such troops lately in the Ceded areas. The amount of the monthly abstracts of pay for the Battalions would be paid from the treasury of the nearest Collectors respectively. The muster rolls and abstracts were to be signed by the Magistrate of the city or district where the Corps were stationed. The Magistrate was to take all steps as would be necessary to satisfy himself that the men returned on command and detachments were effective. Monthly returns of the Corps were to be transmitted through the Magistrates to the Governor-General in Council in the Judicial Department.

The new Provincial Battalions were stationed at the following centres, which were considered the head quarters of the respective Corps:—Benares, Dacca, Chittagong, Burdwan, Patna, Murshidabad and Purnea. An European Commissioned Officer performed the duties of Adjutant with the usual staff allowance, whenever such officers could be spared from the Regular Corps for that purpose. Such of the existing Sebundies as were considered willing and efficient were received and enrolled in the new Corps. Any deficiencies were to be made up by fresh recruitment. The Commanding Officers of the new Battalions were to transmit indent for arms for the use of the Corps under their respective Commands to the Military Board, who would take necessary measures for having "Serviceable Repaired" arms supplied from the nearest Magazines. No Batta was to be drawn for the Indian officers and sepoy in any situation, nor were they to be considered entitled to the Invalid Establishment, excepting such of them as should have been sent from the Regular Battalions, or such of the Indian officers and men as should be rendered incapable of further duty from wounds received in the execution of their duties. All this was due obviously to considerations of economy, but one reason was to place these Battalions on a footing different from that of the Regulars.

The Provincial Battalions were placed under strict watch with a view to maintain discipline. The General Officers on the Staff at Calcutta, Dinapore, Chunar and Berhampore were directed to inspect occasionally the provincial battalions stationed in the vicinity of their respective commands, and to report at least once every six months the state of the Corps with respect to discipline, clothing and equipments, to the Governor-General in Council. The

General Officers at Chunar, Dinapore and Berhampore had constant opportunities of inspecting the Battalions, the Head Quarters of which were fixed at Benares, Patna and Murshidabad. The Officer Commanding at the Presidency inspected the Corps stationed at Burdwan, and the Officers Commanding at Dinapore and Berhampore occasionally deputed Officers to inspect and report on the state of the Corps at Purnea, Dacca and Chittagong, when it was inconvenient for themselves to proceed to so great a distance from their respective stations. With a view to provide effectually for the duties previously performed by the Sebundies in the district of Bhagalpur, the Governor-General in Council directed that an addition of one Indian Havildar, one Naik, and 12 sepoy to each of the Four Companies of the Hill Corps Rangers be made to that Corps.

The duties performed by the reformed Battalions were of a multifarious character. In addition to all normal Provincial duties, the Corps worked in place of the Barqandazes and peons attached to the Civil Officers in the different departments. They provided for occasional Reliefs and all contingencies. The Battalion established at Chittagong was intended to provide for the duties of the Salt Department at Bulwah, formerly performed by a party of the Calcutta Native Militia.

The expenses of the Battalions were kept as low as possible. The Officers were, however, allowed the Batta of the superior rank, conformably to the general rule of the service. The cloathing which was to correspond as nearly as possible with the uniform of the Regulars was provided from the established offreckonings. Bounty cloathing was allowed in the first instance in the usual manner.

No contingent expense was to be incurred by the officers Commanding the Battalions without the previous sanction of the District Magistrate. When any such expense was incurred, the Bill for the amount had to be attested in the usual Form by the Officers Commanding the Battalion, and countersigned by the Magistrate. The Bill was then to be transmitted by the Commanding Officer to the Paymaster of Extraordinaries for being forwarded to the Military Auditor General and the Military Board and thence to the Government. In the event of the Bill being passed by the Government, the amount was to be carried to the debit of the Civil Department with the other expenses of the Battalions.

The undermentioned officers were appointed to command new Battalions as follows:—

Lt. Ludlow—Benares.

Capt. John Stewart—Patna, Purnea, Murshidabad.

Capt. John Leathart—Burdwan, Dacca, Chittagong.

Each Battalion was staffed, in addition to European Commissioned officers, by Indian officers and men as follows:—

Subadars—	Pay Rs. 36	sonaut	rupees.
Jamadars—	do.	18	do.
Havildars—	do.	11	do.
Naiks—	do.	9	do.
Drummers—	do.	9	do.
Sepoys—	do.	5/8	do.
Pukallies—	do.	12	do.

Among other Indian staff were Sircars, Native Doctors, Sicligurs, Chucklers, Tendals and Lascars.

The number of sepoy in each Battalion was as follows:—

Burdwan—	816
Patna—	864
Benares—	674
Purnea—	960
Dacca—	909
Murshidabad—	792
Chittagong—	576

All applications from the officers commanding Provincial Battalions were to be transmitted to the Governor-General in Council in the Judicial Department through the Magistrate. The Officers appointed to command the Battalions had to apply to the Commander-in-Chief for permission to select from the European Corps proper non-commissioned officers for the performance of the duties of Serjeant Majors to their respective Battalions. The Commanding Officers had also to apply to the Commander-in-Chief for such Indian staff as might be desirous of being transferred from the regular Corps to the Provincial Battalions.

In short, everything was done to eliminate the abuses in the organisation of the old Sebundies and to place the new Battalions on a sound footing.

The date of Nidhanpur Grant of Bhaskaravarma¹

BY

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The Nidhanpur Copper-Plates Grant of Bhaskaravarma, King of Kamarupa, is the basis of our knowledge about the political history of Assam in the early period. This Grant records how Maharajadhiraja Bhaskaravarma issued from his victorious camp at Karnasuvarna where he was in residence (*jayasabdartha-skandha varat Karnasuvarna Vasakat*) certain copper-plates confirming the bestowal by his ancestor King Bhutivarman (*rajna Sri Bhutivarman*) of an area of land in Mayurasalmalagrahara situated in the district (*visaya*) of Chandrapuri on two hundred and five Brahmins named in the copper-plates. The exact location of the land thus bestowed is still uncertain. The findspot, Nidhanpur, is in the modern district of Sylhet, East Pakistan. The main historical interest of this grant lies in the circumstance that it gives a genealogy of Maharajadhiraja Bhaskaravarma upto his twelfth ancestor, Pushyavarma, the lord of the earth (*kshitipati*), who has been considered² as the contemporary of Samudragupta, the second Gupta Emperor, though Sir Edward Gait³ would place him a century later. This inscription is not dated, but Bhaskaravarma is known from Indian and Chinese sources to have been a contemporary of Harsavardhana (A.D. 606-647). Bana in his *Harsa-Charita*⁴ states that Bhaskaravarma the lord of Pragjyotisa (*Pragjyotisesvara*) sent an envoy named Hamsavega to Harsavardhana when the latter immediately after his accession, was leading an expedition against Sasanka, the king of Gauda. This shows that Bhaskaravarma had been the ruler of Pragjyotisa before Harsa ascended the throne in A.D. 606. Again, Chinese sources⁵ show

1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XII, pp. 65 ff and *Kamarupa-Sasanavali*.
2. *Kamarupa-Sasanavali*, Introduction, p. 14.
3. Sir Edward Gait, *History of Assam*, p. 28.
4. Bana-*Harsa-Charita*, 7th Uchhasa in Eng. Translation by Cowell and Thomas, pp. 211-233, or Gajendragadkar's edition of original text pp. 176-177.
5. M. Sylvain Levi—"Les Missions de Wang-Hiuen-T'se dans l'Inde" translated in Indian Antiquary, 1911, pp. 111 ff.

that Bhaskaravarma was reigning when in A.D. 647 Wang-heun led his expedition against Arjuna, the Minister of Harsa, who usurped the throne of Kanouj on the death of Harsa. In account of Wang-heun-tsi's last visit to India in A.D. 657 there is no mention of Bhaskaravarma who evidently had already died. Bhaskaravarma then ruled at least from A.D. 604 to A.D. 649. The question is when, during this long period of his rule, he issued a land-grant from Karnasuvarna, the capital of Gauda, which must then have conquered and occupied.

Divergent views have been expressed on the subject. According to one view⁶ Bhaskaravarma issued his copper-plates granted early in the seventh century of the Christian era when he and his ally Harsavardhana were in joint possession of Karnasuvarna celebrating their triumph over Sasanka, the king of Gauda. A second view⁷ is that Bhaskaravarma conquered and occupied Karnasuvarna by his own efforts, of course as an ally of Harsa, in A.D. 611. According to a third view⁸ Karnasuvarna passed into the hands of Bhaskara through Harsa's conquest of it, at some later date than that of his first campaign against Sasanka immediately after the murder of Rajyavardhana; and this second campaign of Harsa "might have taken place either during the life-time of Sasanka or after his death" which must have taken place shortly before A.D. 637 when Hiuen Tsiang travelled over Magadha and Karnasuvarna over which, he states, Sasanka had recently ruled.⁹ A fourth view¹⁰ holds that Bhaskaravarma was in possession of Gauda and of North Radha in A.D. 642 when he "passed up the Ganges" with a large fleet of boats and a large army to meet Harsa at Kajanga which has been identified with Rajmahal. These four views then agree in holding that Bhaskara was in possession of Gauda including its capital Karnasuvarna during the life-time of Harsa. A fifth view¹¹ would put Bhaskaravarma's conquest of Karnasuvarna after the death of Harsavardhana in A.D. 646-647. The Nidhanpur grant was, according to this view, posterior to Harsa's death. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, who supported this view previously, has

6. Bhattacharya, *Kamarupa-Sasanavali*, Introduction, p. 16.

7. K. L. Barua, *Early History of Assam*, pp. 86-87.

8. R. G. Basak, *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 228.

9. Watters, *Yuan Chuang*, Vol. II, p. 185.

10. D. C. Gangulik, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XV, pp. 122-124.

11. Sir Edward Gait, *History of Assam*, p. 29; and also R. C. Majumdar, *Outline of Ancient Indian History and Culture*, p. 348.

lately modified his judgment and would now place the conquest of Gauḍa by Bhaskaravarma between A.D. 638 and 642.¹²

Such divergence of opinions shows the uncertainty of the date of the conquest and occupation of Karnasuvarna, the capital of Gauḍa, by Bhaskaravarma and consequently of the date of the issue of the Nidhanpur grant.

Certain circumstances are, however, indubitable. It was Bhaskaravarma who sought Harsa's alliance immediately after the latter's accession following the murder of his elder brother and predecessor Rajyavardhana, even before Harsa had won a single laurel. Does it not suggest that weak as Harsa was at that time Bhaskara was weaker still? Indeed the recently discovered Doobi copper-plates grant¹³ of Bhaskaravarma shows in what precarious condition Bhaskara ascended the throne of Kamarupa. We are told that immediately after the death of his father Susthitavarma a Gauḍa army invaded Kamarupa and defeated Bhaskaravarma and his elder brother Supratisthitavarma so severely that Supratisthitavarma eventually died and Bhaskara ascended the throne vacated by the death of his elder brother. The name of the Gauḍa King who led this invasion on Kamarupa is not mentioned. He was in all probability Sasanka himself. If this supposition is correct it at once explains how natural it was for Bhaskara to seek the friendship and alliance of the more powerful Harsavardhana who, as we know, had a similar wrong to avenge on Sasanka. Nothing is known to have been done by Bhaskaravarma during the next three or four years to justify the view that he conquered Gauḍa as early as A.D. 610. Further, no contemporary authority states that Harsa defeated the Gauḍa King Sasanka in battle. On the other hand the evidence of the Ganjam Copper-plate¹⁴ definitely proves that Sasanka continued to be acknowledged till A.D. 619 as the suzerain over Kongoda which has been identified with the region round the Chilka Lake in Orissa. In view of this admitted fact it is unjustified to hold that Sasanka had lost Gauḍa at any time before A.D. 619. Indeed Kongoda itself was not conquered by Harsa before A.D. 642,¹⁵ and this circumstance strengthens the inference that Sasanka remained

12. *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), Vol. I, p. 78.

13. P. D. Chowdhury, *Journal of the Assam Research Society* Vol. XII, 1949, pp. 17 ff verses 48-51 and D. C. Sarkar, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3, pp. 24-246.

14. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

15. *Beal's Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 159.

in full possession of all his territories including Gauda not upto A.D. 619 but also till his death many years later. Thus the theory of the occupation of Gauda either jointly by Harsa and Bhaskara or by Bhaskara alone at any time before A.D. 619 has to be discarded.

The view that some years after his accession Harsa made a second invasion on Gauda which he then conquered and handed over to his ally, Bhaskaravarma, not only pre-supposes too much altruism on the part of a monarch who fought incessantly for about forty years to extend his empire but is based absolutely on unconfirmed assumptions, on "might haves". As Dr. R. G. Basak the author of this view, himself puts it,¹⁶ "Harsa might have marched a second time against Sasanka's kingdom in the company of Bhaskara". Indeed Harsa *might have* done many things, but the question is what he really did. On this point all contemporary records are silent, and the *Manju-Sri-Mulakalpa* on which Dr. Basak would rely¹⁷ is not only a much later work and vitiated by sectarian feelings but is also so very cryptic in its statements that these cannot be accepted as true unless these are corroborated by other independent evidence. And there is no corroborative evidence in support of its statements that Harsa (meaning Harsa) defeated Soma (i.e. Sasanka) and "forbade him to move out of his country and ordered him to remain there".¹⁸ Even if this statement is accepted as correct it does not prove that Gauda passed under Bhaskaravarma's rule before the death of Sasanka which event has to be dated shortly before A.D. 637 when Hiuen Tsiang visited Magadha and found there many proofs of Sasanka's recent anti-Buddhistic vandalism.¹⁹

The view that Gauda and Karnasuvarna passed under Bhaskaravarma before A.D. 642 during the life-time of Harsa vardhana is based on the sole authority of a statement in the *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*. The Chinese pilgrim was then on a visit to the court of Bhaskaravarma. Emperor Harsavardhana who, on his way back from Kongoda (Orissa) which he had just conquered was then camping at Kujurguria which has been identified with Rajmahal, heard of the presence of the Chinese pilgrim in the

16. *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 226.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 151-152.

18. Jayaswal's edition; verses 721-725 and also *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), Vol. I, pp. 63-64.

19. Watters, *Yuan Chwang's Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 92 and 115.

court of Bhaskaravarma and asked the latter to send the pilgrim to the presence of Harsa. But Bhaskara refused to do so and went to the extent of stating in reply that Harsa might take Bhaskara's head rather than the pilgrim. Such an answer to his request greatly irritated Harsa who promptly sent the demand that Bhaskara should then send his own head. The rest of the story is best told in the words of the *Life* itself. "Kumara (Bhaskaravarma) deeply alarmed at the folly of his language, immediately ordered his army of elephants, 20,000 in number, to be equipped and his ships, 30,000 in number. Then embarking with the Master of the Law they passed up the Ganges together in order to reach the place where Siladitya raja was residing".²⁰ After a march of several days (the number is not mentioned) they met Siladitya (as Harsavardhana is called in the Chinese texts) at Kujurguria which was on the north bank of the Ganges. Some days later on Harsa, accompanied by Bhaskaravarma as well as the Chinese pilgrim, went up to Kanouj where "there were present kings of eighteen countries of the five Indies" to adorn the Court of Emperor Harsavardhana.²¹ This is, in brief, the account on which the theory has been built that at that time (A.D. 642) Bhaskaravarma was in possession of Gauḍa and Karnasuvarna because he could march unopposed through the country with a large army.

The above account is not as free from obscurities as one should expect it to be in order to build on it a theory. First, where was Bhaskaravarma holding his Court when Hiuen Tsiang first met him? In this connection it has to be remembered that according to the *Travels*²² Hiuen Tsiang went to Kamarupa from Nalanda by the land-route and crossed on his way the Karatoya. There is nothing to show that since his arrival at the Kamarupa court king Bhaskaravarma along with the Chinese pilgrim had gone to any place on the bank of the Ganges in Gauḍa where, according to this theory, he must have been when he received the summons from Harsa to send the Chinese pilgrim to his camp at Kujurguria. In the absence of any such evidence the theory has to depend on three words viz. "up the Ganges". If this account in the *Life* is read in the light of the personal account of the pilgrim himself as left in his *Travels* one would be driven to hold that here the *Life* has erred. It was not "up the Ganges" that they could

20. Beal—*Life of Hiuen Tsiang* p. 172.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

22. Watters, *Yuang Chwang's Travels*, Vol. I. pp. 348-349 and Vol. II, p. 185.

embark; it must have been down the Brahmaputra that they sailed. Once the Karatoya was crossed, as the Chinese pilgrim did cross, and an entrance was made into Kamarupa one could not reach the Ganges, far less go up it, without first going down the Brahmaputra. Secondly, a dispassionate study of the *Life* is bound to leave on the mind of the reader the impression that like all biographers, the author of the *Life* also was suffering from an excessive desire for adulating the hero and has exaggerated all that was done to show honour to him. One instance, I hope, will suffice to prove this submission. We are told in the *Life* that all over India none was found either amongst the Hinayanists or among the orthodox Brahmanical Hindus who could controvert the Master of the Law. Yet on his own admission we know that during the religious disputations held at Kanouj under Harsa's patronage Harsa publicly announced that "whosoever speaks against him (the Master of the Law) his tongue shall be cut,"²³ and, no wonder that "from this time", as the *Life* naively adds, "the followers of error withdrew and disappeared". It is thus evident that the Master of the Law owed his dialectical triumphs not always, as the *Life* would have us believe, to his intellectual superiority but occasionally at least to more readily appreciable agencies. In the circumstances one has to take the whole account with great reservation. Just as Hiuen Tsiang himself was guilty of an error when he stated that Bhaskaravarma was a Brahmin by caste²⁴ similarly the author of the *Life* was guilty of the double error of mistaken topography and of exaggeration in stating that Bhaskaravarma embarked "up the Ganges" with so large an army. Even if the account is assumed to be correct and if it is taken as a whole all that it shows is that Harsavardhana was at the time (A.D. 642) the undisputed suzerain of Northern India. He marched over the country as he liked, ordered kings as he pleased and was readily obeyed by his princely subordinates who felt obliged to accompany him on his marches and to the festivals sponsored by him.

The conclusion thus is inevitable that in A.D. 642 when Hiuen Tsiang visited Kamarupa as well as in A.D. 643 when the Chinese pilgrim attended Harsa's sixth quinquennial assembly at Prayaga Maharajadhiraja Sri Harsa was the sovereign of Northern India receiving the homage of eighteen kings including Bhaskaravarma the king of Kamarupa. But, as the Nidhanpur grant assuredly

23. Beal—*Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 180.

24. Watters, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 186.

proves, Bhaskaravarma was at one time certainly holding his victorious camp at Karnasuvarna the capital of Gauḍa and must have been in residence there for some time in peace to be able to issue land-grants confirming gifts of lands made by a remote ancestor. To the question what that time was the Nidhanpur grant itself affords the answer. It is no doubt undated but it contains a significant term which it seems has so long escaped the attention that it deserves. In the Nidhanpur grant the genealogy of Bhaskaravarma is clearly traced for twelve preceding generations beginning with Pushyavarma. All the twelve royal predecessors of Bhaskaravarma, including Bhutivarma whose gift of land the Nidhanpur grant confirmed, are referred to by such unassuming prefixes as *kshitisvara* (Pushyavarma) *kshitipa* (Samudravarma), *nripa* (Sthitavarma) and *raja* (Bhutivarma). But Bhaskaravarma is referred to as Maharajadhiraja. As the Bhanskera seal of Harsavardhana shows, that was also the style of the royal title that Harsa himself bore. If that monarch had not allowed, as the *Life* states,²⁵ during his time any other king to march to what was called the "music-pace-drums" he must have seen to it that no other northern Indian king did use, so long as he lived, the royal and majestic title which he himself had assumed. India is a vast country no doubt, but it must have been too small for two emperors, two Maharajadhirajas, to rule at one and the same time. Bhaskaravarma therefore could have assumed this title only after the demise of his more illustrious imperial contemporary. It must have been therefore only after Harsa's death in A.D. 646-647 that Bhaskaravarma assumed the dignified title of Maharajadhiraja and it was only then that he could conquer Gauḍa and Karnasuvarna taking advantage of the utter disorganisation and complete weakness that came to prevail all over Harsa's empire after his death which made the incursion of Wang-heun-tsi possible and feasible. Dr. Majumdar need not have modified his earlier view that Bhaskaravarma occupied Karnasuvarna in A.D. 647. It is, however, needless to assume that he did so to feed an ancient grudge. He conquered Gauḍa including its capital to satisfy his own natural territorial ambition when the removal of the strong arms of Maharajadhiraja Sri Harsavardhana and the accession of an usurper afforded him an unprecedented opportunity which he was not the man to let slip.

25. "As Siladitya marched, he was always accompanied by several hundred persons with golden drums, who beat one stroke for every step taken; they called these the "music-pace-drums", Siladitya alone used this method—other kings were not permitted to adopt it."—Beal—*Life*, p. 173.

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Minto, Baillie and Saadut Ali, 1807-1813

BY

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III

On the point of reforms, however, the Nawab Wazir maintained a discreet silence. Minto, now, decided that it was time for him to come to Baillie's aid, with a direct address from himself to the Nawab Wazir. His address of May 8th, 1812 to the Nawab Wazir was a document equally distinguished for the moderation of its language and the harshness of its allegations. He emphasised therein the right of the British Government to investigate and arbitrate in Oudh affairs, urged an acquiescence on the part of the Nawab Wazir in the plans proposed to him, and referred him for further details and negotiations to Baillie, who, Minto made it clear, enjoyed his perfect confidence and backing.¹³⁸

On August 26, 1812, twenty months after his receiving the Governor-General's first direct address on the question of reforms, Saadut Ali, who had not, so far, deigned to reply either to this letter or to the two letters written to him by General Hewett, (while he was acting Governor-General) replied to Minto's letter of May 8, 1812 and acknowledged all the other previous letters too. In the preparation of this reply Baillie had wished to assist Saadut Ali, so that the tone of it may be submissive.¹³⁹ When it was sent for Baillie's prior perusal, in accordance with the diplomatic practice of the time, that officer found it "so full of the Vizier's characteristic deceit and evasion, so replete with erroneous statements of every fact and argument that it contains, as to exceed in all those characteristic qualities every former production of his Excellency's that has fallen under my observation." He submitted a memorial on it challenging some of its facts and requesting the Nawab Wazir to recast it. The paragraphs regarding the reforms question were not re-cast at all.¹⁴⁰ The tone of this letter was sub-

138. Oude Papers: Op. Cit., pp. 283-287.

139. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 56, p. 422.

140. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 1, p. 483.

missive and polite, as of course, the tone of all letters that Nawab Wazir wrote to the Governor-General, had to be; but the burden of it was: (i) That he was desirous of reform himself, when at an earlier date he wanted to send his son to make revenue settlements, Baillie had vetoed this move.¹⁴¹ (ii) The full measurement of all land, before assessment; the co-operation of the kanoongoes, chowdharies, patwaris and zamindars, etc., to guarantee that the amils in the course of the performance of the duties would not prove to be oppressors of the peasants and ryots in general—all these seemed to him to be the steps essentially preliminary, before the reform plan could be implemented. (iii) That before the Police and Judiciary of Oudh could be safely reformed, disaffection should be completely rooted out and the rebels "utterly extirpated."¹⁴³ (iv) That whatever reforms were undertaken "my independent power and authority, as established by treaty, may not thereby be impaired, and my dignity and consequence be not diminished in the slightest degree in the eyes of my subjects."¹⁴⁴

At this particular stage of the Reform negotiations somehow circumstances so conspired that a whole storm of differences and disputes should arise between the Oudh and British Governments. These we shall notice later; suffice it to say here that for some time the matter of reforms was shelved. In the heat of controversy things became bitter and the Nawab-Wazir lodged a report against Baillie's conduct and expressed a desire to be permitted to travel, leaving the affairs of state to a Regent,¹⁴⁵ but Minto was not the man to be deluded. He still remembered the Reform Plan and instructed the Resident to exploit the existing circumstances to press this outstanding question.¹⁴⁶

The occurrence of a burglary in an English officer's house in the Cantonments of Lucknow in May 1813, again brought to the fore the question of reforms in the Police administration of Oudh.¹⁴⁷

141. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 468, 484, paras 2 and 3 of p. 488. Baillie challenged this statement; but it seems that in general the Nawab-Wazir was right in this allegation of his.

142. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 485.

143. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 485.

144. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 485.

145. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 331.

146. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 9, p. 347.

147. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 408-409.

Let us remember that it was at this very time that the ticklish question of the Nawab's temporary retirement from the government was being considered. All these things the English Government now absolutely linked together.¹⁴⁸ The reply of Baillie, in effect, was, "If you are keen to go, we shall not obstruct you; all you have to do is to put the administration of Oudh into our hands, whosoever is the Regent will have to be a mere rubber-stamp. You may go after making over charge of government to us, whenever it pleases you. The Reforms Plan, in that case, we shall carry through in your absence. That is not going to be delayed whether you remain or go."¹⁴⁹ Saadut Ali was quick to realise that he had made a faux pas, and wanted to retrace his steps. He had made a mistake about his man, now he knew Baillie better.¹⁵⁰ Following close upon this came the crushing notice from Baillie saying in unambiguous language that so far the Nawab-Wazir had been playing for time—the game could not continue longer because any amount of delay would not change the views of the Supreme Government.¹⁵¹ He went on nagging the Nawab-Wazir, telling him over and over again that his fears of loss of authority and doubts about the practicability of the Reforms Plan were "imaginary and groundless", that the British right to interfere even in the "ordinary government, the usual exercise of his authority", which was guaranteed by the Treaty, would be exercised as completely as possible in the most momentous as well as the most trivial affairs of the Oudh Government.¹⁵² The secret intelligence from the Nawab-Wazir's court for these days indicated that Saadut Ali knew that if it came to a show down ultimately he would have to bow low before the blast.¹⁵³

The cup was already full. The last drop and much more than a mere drop, came from Minto, and the overflow began. Saadut Ali now had to recognise the inevitability of his defeat in the diplomatic game he had been playing with such masterful deliberation. Minto's letter of July 2, 1813, in reply to Saadut Ali's of 26th August 1812, was a classic example of shrewd diplomacy, cunning and presenting an iron clenched fist in a velvet glove. It was delivered to Saadut Ali on Sept. 4, 1813.

148. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 2, pp. 500-501.

149. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 7, p. 502.

150. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 8, p. 502.

151. Oude. Papers: Loc. Cit. page 506.

152. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 7, p. 529.

153. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 534.

The letter was couched "in terms of remonstrance and exhortation, which it can neither be agreeable to me to use nor to your Excellency to hear."¹⁵⁴ The advantages of the proposed reforms were enumerated; he was assured that all opposition on the part of any of his subjects to the Reforms would be suppressed by British arms; he was reminded of his "obligation to conform" to the advice of the British Government; it was asserted each single objection of his had been "respectfully entertained, deliberately examined, and successfully refuted"; he was told point blank that all his opposition to this plan would be unavailing against the resolution of the British to carry it through; it was pointed out that in putting further opposition to the plan he would be violating an express stipulation of the Treaty of 1801, and the Governor-General while shielding the Resident, reaffirmed his complete confidence in Major Baillie. The letter was not closed without driving the fear of extreme measures into the heart of poor Saadut Ali.¹⁵⁵ This was enough to intimidate many a stronger person; Saadut Ali though obstinate, knew his limitations and recognised, therefore, that the game was up.

Minto was by no means unaware of this; he could only force the Nawab-Wazir into acquiescence, he could not compel him to be sincerely zealous in implementing the plan and he could not stop him from sabotaging the plan from within. Baillie was instructed to ensure the success of this.¹⁵⁶ From now onwards Baillie's intercourse with the Nawab-Wazir assumed the note, "Obey, Obey! else you are heading for destruction. And do not blame us for it, later."¹⁵⁷

On October 7, 1813, Lord Minto made over charge to his successor Lord Moira; but about six more weeks passed before he left for England. On 22nd October 1813 the letter of 12th October from the Nawab-Wazir, addressed to Lord Minto, was received at Fort William, though still in India this nobleman was no longer at the helm of affairs. He had, however, the satisfaction of knowing that the unconditional acquiescence on the part of the Nawab-Wazir, for which he had been pressing, was at last achieved.¹⁵⁸ It would be but just if we notice here the obstinate determination of

154. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 2, p. 506.

155. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 506-512.

156. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 7, page 515.

157. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 4, page 535; para 11, p. 536.

158. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 542-545.

Saadut Ali to clutch his power, even at an hour when he knew it was slipping from his hands. He extracted from Baillie an assurance, however puerile, that his records and details of revenue administration would not be interfered with or subjected to inspection by the British Resident.¹⁵⁹

If Minto had now known his triumph in this matter, very soon Saadut Ali was to know his! Moira held different ideas and though it fit to consign this Reforms Plan to cold storage.¹⁶⁰ It is one of the ironies of history that though the question of reforms in administration was ever a point at issue between the British and Oudh Governments it somehow could never actually be put into action and remained for ever consigned to the field of wordy warfare and theoretical discussions.

Of British Protection to individuals in Oudh

The earlier British Empire-builders in India were steadfast on some principles. Not the least important of these was their steady patronage, guidance and assistance to Indians—individuals and families—who had proved themselves faithful and serviceable to them.

One of the earlier despatches of Baillie from Lucknow to the Supreme Government is concerning some noblemen of Oudh and the two Begums—the Bhow Begum (widow of Shujauddoulah) and Bhabi Begum (widow of Asafuddoulah) who “consider themselves as the dependents of the British Government, and as entitled to its protection and support.”¹⁶¹

We have already seen how the Bhow Begum had appointed the Company as her legatee and how that position had been accepted by Wellesley. Bhabi Begum also called Shamsunissa Begum was the widow of Saadut Ali's brother—the late Nawab Asafuddoulah. There was no love lost between her and her sovereign and brother-in-law.

Then there were persons like Tuhseen Ali Khan, Nawab Madaruddoulah, Nawab Kasim Ali Khan, etc., who had rendered valuable service to the British. The third category of people on whose interests the British Government, through its Resident, felt

159. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. paras 4 and 5, pp. 540-541.

160. Wilson, H. H.: “History of British India”, (Pub: 1858) Vol. II, pp. 77-78.

161. Oude Papers: Op. Cit. p. 27.

bound to keep a jealous watch was formed by sons and dependents of persons, who, in their life-time had been faithful quislings. Under this class came Tujummul Hussain Khan, son of Tufuzzul Hussain Khan, Hussain Ali son of Hyder Beg Khan, the widow and children of Ashraf Ali Khan, and Rahmat Ali and Mirza Jang respectively the brother and son (both by adoption) of Almass Ali Khan. The fourth category was formed by persons who were in the company's employ but originally residents of Oudh and subjects, therefore, of the Nawab-Wazir. Such were Parshad Singh Subadar, Mal Tiwari Naik and Munshi Ali Naqi Khan.

Saadut Ali had reasons to be vindictive against all the persons we have listed above. He could not help (as indeed who could?) associating the names of these persons with the help and information received by the British, within Oudh, which was, to a certain extent at least, responsible ultimately for the Treaty of Cession, 1801. He knew he was powerless against the British Government. He was not a saint or an angel and naturally succumbed to the temptation to use his authority in harming such of these persons whom he could easily show what it meant to earn the wrath of a prince. Subsequently events showed, however, that the Resident was as prepared to signalise the patronage and protection of the British government to these persons¹⁶² as the Nawab-Wazir was to show his anger.¹⁶³ In Baillie's hands this pretext became another diplomatic indicator to point out to Saadut Ali as well as to the world that it was the British might which was sovereign in Oudh and not the Nawab-Wazir's right.

Saadut Ali did what anybody else in his situation would have done. He dropped a hint to his amils who became indifferent in the matter of forcing the landholders in the fiefs of such of the nobles who had incurred the Nawab's displeasure, to pay up their dues. These persons were hard-hit and appealed to the Resident. He, in his turn took up the matter with the Nawab-Wazir with whom he pleaded that whether the revenue in the jagirs belonged to him or to the jagirdars the sovereignty even there was his and therefore, he was expected to send forces to subdue such of the

162. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 3, p. 269. "..... require a more decided interposition of its influence for the protection of those individuals than has ever been hitherto suggested since the conclusion of the Treaty of 1801."

163. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit paras 5, 6, 7 and 8, page 247. Baillie's letter gives details how the Nawab-Wazir was indirectly, harrassing and persecuting Tujummul and how the British were bent on saving him from all trouble.

zemin্দars who showed disaffection even though they belonged to the jagirdars' domains. As usual, Saadut Ali promised to do something and slept over the matter. Baillie's next move was to suggest to him that in case the Oudh Government did not move in the matter, he would, on his own initiative, send a small detachment of British troops to aid in restoring order in the jagirdars' holdings. Against this Saadut Ali vigorously protested. He said no British troops, under the Treaty, could be sent for such work within his territories, unless he requisitioned them.¹⁶⁴ Baillie thought that the third Article of the Treaty of Cession, 1801, authorised him to order such a movement of troops within Oudh,—but on making a reference to the Supreme Government he discovered that they did not consider it within their rights to authorise him to do so. Remonstrance with the Nawab-Wazir was the only way left open to him.¹⁶⁵

Extensive districts were farmed by an old British favourite, a eunuch—Almass Ali Khan. When he died the Nawab-Wazir most coolly passed over those very districts in succession to the adopted brother (Rahmat Ali Khan) and the adopted son (Mirza Jan alias Khanazad Khan) of the deceased. The terms on which the amilship was granted were exorbitant. Baillie quite understood that this was an alluring trap from which later on there would be no escape for these nincompoops; and so he represented to the Nawab-Wazir against the measure. It is by no means clear why he should not have prevented the victims from falling into it rather than asked the tempter not to spread his trap for them! These persons accepted the amilship, praised the Nawab-Wazir's bounty and were later on unable to pay off their dues and naturally and duly fell into disgrace, and were put under personal restraint, Rahmat Ali died in the meanwhile.¹⁶⁶ The next logical step was to put Khanazad Khan into prison and to confiscate all his personal property; but before the Nawab-Wazir could do so Baillie interceded on his behalf, asking his Excellency to relent and to remit part of the outstanding balances against these persons. Along with this request went another piece of gratuitous advice to change this system of revenue-farming which was to be blamed ultimately for this occurrence!¹⁶⁷

164. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 27.

165. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 28.

166. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 169.

167. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 118-119.

The old minister of Asafuddoulah—Tuffuzul Hussain had been granted an *altumgha* (hereditary) jagir on British intercession on his behalf. It was, after his death, confirmed in possession of his only Son Tujummul Hussain Khan, on British recommendation again. The Nawab-Wazir now took steps to get his jagir permutated (to be managed by the government as all other districts were and the jagirdar to be given a fixed yearly sum in lieu of it in this instance settled at Rs. 40,000/- per annum).¹⁶⁸ Tujummul "would never have presumed to object to the arrangement in question save for the unprecedented and unnecessary support which I (Baillie) had afforded to this person and to others in a similar predicament". (The words are Saadut Ali's, being quoted by Baillie).¹⁶⁹

Minto himself agreed with Baillie's line of conduct in both these instances but though on the matter of Tujummul he was prepared to take a very rigid stand he felt he could not do so equally for Almas Ali's dependents.¹⁷⁰ Any way in his direct address to the Nawab-Wazir (dated December 28, 1810) Minto did mention both these cases and hinted that a favourable and lenient view on the part of Saadut Ali would be very satisfactory to the British Government.¹⁷¹

In the negotiations that ensued the Nawab-Wazir took the stand, in the case of Khanazad alias Mirza Jan that "Khanazad Khan and his property were the property of Almass, and Almass himself belonged to me; consequently Khanazad too is my property, and you have no right to interfere."¹⁷² It was a fact that originally Almass had been brought up as a slave.¹⁷³ But later on he became an influential and important officer of the Oudh Government. Baillie's stand was that Almass had thus extricated himself from the state of slavery; and even if it be accepted that he remained a slave, his adopted son, under Islamic law, could not be assumed to be slave. Discussion was prolonged. Baillie's bait to the Nawab-Wazir was that if he could be furnished with a statement of demands against Khanazad, he would arbitrate so that the just dues of the state could be recovered.¹⁷⁴ At last

168. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 135.

169. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 120.

170. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 25, p. 130.

171. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 133-134.

172. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. Article 8, p. 179.

173. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 182.

174. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 170.

partly by pressure from British quarters and partly because of his own inclination to recover some money, at least, which could not be otherwise recovered, Saadut Ali abated the rigours of the detention under which this unfortunate amil was placed, and only two chuprasis were left to look after him; and a promise was made that the required statement of demands would be put forth for investigation by the Resident.¹⁷⁵

On the point of the release of Tujummul's jagir from governmental control and its restoration for management to the jagirdar Saadut Ali had his own objections but after some attempts at evasion he at last agreed to restore it to him.¹⁷⁶ Soon after this restoration, however, there arose some trouble between zemindars in the Khalsa (i.e. the State) domains and the zemindars in Tujummul's jagir, on a minor point of boundary adjustments etc. One can hardly doubt that the officials and zemindars of the Nawab-Wazir felt that a sure way of earning the approbation of their prince was to pick a quarrel with the jagir people and harm them. Tujummul and his employees and protégés on the other hand had the sure vanity of having for their support the British power and the Resident. The matter was naturally reported to the latter by the Nawab-Wazir himself. There was a lengthy correspondence on the point and the Resident opined that neither Tujummul nor his employees were at any fault. Such an opinion, it can be imagined, neither satisfied nor pleased Saadut Ali.¹⁷⁷ But the matter was deliberately forgotten and made to die.

On March 29, 1811 while Minto was away to Java, General Hewett, the acting Governor General, in a direct address to the Nawab-Wazir urged the satisfaction of the 'just claims' of Munshi Ali Naqi Khan.¹⁷⁸ A very long time elapsed before the Nawab-Wazir thought it necessary to give any expression to his feelings on the topic. This Ali Naqi Khan was a resident of Oudh, who was in the company's employ as the head Munshi to the Resident at Lucknow and, according to his own assertion, had been "subjected to extraordinary oppression and violence by the Vizier's Aumils and Zemindars".¹⁷⁹ His claims were that till the year

175. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 179.

176. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 180. [Refer pp. 159 (paras 22, 23), 160 (para 27), 170, 176, for details of negotiations on this issue.]

177. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 248-253.

178. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 283.

179. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 5, p. 269.

1801 he was in possession of two villages as Nankar, three gardens, one chuck, and a bazar in the district of Sandee. He also claimed the right, by inheritance, to a certain share in the chowdher kanoongoey and zemindari privileges of the town and district of Sandee.¹⁸⁰ Then, the Munshi, who was in the service of the East India Company, went in 1801 to Calcutta. Before he left, the Oudh Government issued a mandate in the name of the officials concerned in the district of Sandee that the Munshi's hereditary possessions were to be kept intact and no harrassment was to be allowed.¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, the amil of Sandee, as soon as the Munshi left Oudh, dispossessed him of his various properties; there were persons who started building shops in his Bazar, others took charge of a house which the Munshi claimed to have inherited. His own partners would not acknowledge his right to any share in the chowdher, kanoongoey and zemindari privileges.¹⁸² All these claims, as well as the demand that all the revenue he had lost during this interim period should be made good to him, were put forth by Ali Naqi Khan now and Baillie forwarded them all.¹⁸³ The Supreme Government seconded and supported every effort of Baillie to persuade the Nawab-Wazir to satisfy these claims.¹⁸⁴ The claims themselves were, it was said, based upon original 'Sunnuds & Perwannahs' of the Oudh Government and were traced back to the times when Oudh was not ruled by the present ruling house, to the times of Shah Jahan and even before.¹⁸⁵ The Nawab-Wazir, as usual, was employing his dilatory tactics. He would not see the 'Sunnuds' and then say that it was not possible for him to decide unless he had seen the Sunnuds.¹⁸⁶ On one point, however, he was justified. He said that the claims the Munshi had against the Government might be decided by himself, but the claims that person had against his co-sharers could be decided only by the Adawlut (the court of justice).¹⁸⁷ Baillie said this was not agreeable to him, because the courts of Oudh

180. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 403.

181. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 404.

182. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 403.

183. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 403-404.

184. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. page 283 (Referring to the Vice-President-in-Council's address of March 29, 1811, Governor General's personal address to the Nawab Wazir, dated May 8, 1812) page 510 (Governor-General's Personal address of July 2, 1813).

185. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 470-471, 416-417.

186. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 417, 419.

187. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 429, 471, 489, 491 etc.

according to Baillie, were corrupt and followed the whims of their Prince, who was not happily disposed towards the Munshi. He said that these claims could be sent to the courts only if the right of revising its decision were vested in the Resident.¹⁸⁸ Saadut Ali was prepared to agree to some amicable formula of compromise but Baillie would not have anything but his pound of flesh.¹⁸⁹ The whole negotiation became long, tortuous and nerve-racking.¹⁹⁰ At last after having received three letters from the Supreme Government, urging him to yield on the point, exchanging a voluminous correspondence with Baillie, and discussing it in numerous conferences with him, Saadut Ali agreed to issue orders in satisfaction of all the claims of the Munshi exactly as they had been put forward.¹⁹¹ This, however, he agreed to do at last on October 2, 1813, about one hundred and twenty hours before Minto made over charge to Moira, at Fort William. One interesting aspect of this incident was that, towards the close of the negotiations about his claims, they were carried on by the Munshi himself, on behalf of the British Government.¹⁹² We cannot blame the old and sensitive Saadut Ali too much if he saw in this an attempt on the part of Baillie to humiliate him. One question which a student of this case cannot help asking himself, though it was neither referred to by Baillie nor agitated by Saadut Ali at any stage of these parleys, is why the Munshi allowed a gap of about ten years between his being dispossessed of his rightful properties and privileges and his appeal against the injustice. Obviously, this question was trumped up at a time when there were already existing numerous and very serious troubles between the British and the Oudh Governments.

It was General Hewett again who took up Hussain Ali Khan's case at the highest level with the Nawab-Wazir, through a direct address, dated July 12, 1811.¹⁹³ This Hussain Ali was the younger son of the late Amiruddowlah Hyder Beg Khan, who was for a considerable length of time the Prime Minister of Oudh and in that situation had proved himself helpful and faithful to the British

188. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. page 489 "..... the Munshi will gladly submit his case to the Adawlut, on the indispensable and hitherto admitted condition of the proceeding being subject to the Resident's revision " Baillie to John Adam.

189. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 27 page 416, para 30 page 417.

190. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 15 page 537, the reported message of the Nawab-Wazir to the Resident.

191. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. Article third, para 6 p. 541.

192. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 540-541.

193. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 283.

Government. At the time when this claim was put forward Hussain Ali was living in abject penury and had no means of subsistence.¹⁹⁴ His elder brother Akbar Ali Khan had earned the displeasure of both the British and the Oudh Governments—and was therefore, in gaol.¹⁹⁵ Now, it was claimed on behalf of Hussain Ali by Major Baillie that upto the time of the accession of Saadut Ali Khan the family of Hussain Ali was in the receipt of a pension of Rs. 100,000/- per annum from the State, but, that Saadut Ali had stopped it.¹⁹⁶ The proofs he offered to adduce in favour of this were statements of old persons living in Lucknow who had been alive and in the know of things at the time when the pension was still being continued. Some indifferent documents also were put forth in support of this.¹⁹⁷ The right of the British Government to press these claims was based on an engagement, given in writing by the Nawab-Wazir, on October 26, 1801, to Mr. Henry Wellesley at the time of his visit to Lucknow.¹⁹⁸ In this engagement it was promised that the pensions given to persons by Asafuddolah or by Saadut Ali would be continued until a pensioner disqualified himself for it, by committing breaches which were enumerated in this document. To cut a long story short, the demand now was that the pension of Rs. 100,000/- per annum to the family of the late Hyder Beg Khan in the person of Hussain Ali should be continued, of course, deducting the share of Akbar Ali Khan, who had rendered himself unworthy of it.¹⁹⁹ Then also there were lands, houses, gardens and properties which were forfeit to the state, because of Akbar Ali's misconduct, but in which a share was claimed on Hussain Ali's behalf. This too the Nawab-Wazir was now asked to settle.²⁰⁰ This discussion too, as it seems all discussions between Baillie and Saadut Ali did, grew absurdly long. There were the usual exchange of letters, conferences, addresses from the Governor-General, threats, disavowals, and everything.²⁰¹ It must, however, be said, in strict justice to Saadut Ali that in this case the arguments he put forward were absolutely conclusive and incontrovertible; and to a student of this case it is clear that the claim of Hussain

194. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 283.

195. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 405.

196. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 404-405.

197. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 472.

198. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 405-406.

199. Oude Papers Loc. Cit. p. 405.

200. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 421-422.

201. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 269, 283, 399, 404-405, 407, 413-414 421-422, 432-433, 472-473, 492-493, 506, 510, 530, 583.

Ali, that was being sponsored, by Baillie, was based on flimsy grounds.²⁰² Minto himself suggested to Baillie that making a compromise on one-fourth of the original demand ($\frac{1}{4}$ of 100,000/- = Rs. 25,000/- per annum) would be quite a desirable thing to do.²⁰³ Baillie, however, was too shrewd to give a hint of this inclination to the Nawab-Wazir, who, in that case would not have agreed to give any stipend at all. But in the end all of a sudden Baillie accepted a settlement of Rs. 24,000/- per annum i.e. Rs. 1000/- less than even one fourth of the original demand. Baillie was more than amply satisfied with it.²⁰⁴ Had the claims of Hussain Ali Khan been so well-grounded as they were made out to be, the British Government would not have been so accommodating in this matter as it really was in the end.

The one case, by studying which we can form an absolutely clear opinion of Baillie's motives as well as methods, in all his dealings with the Nawab-Wazir, is connected with the name of Hyder Bukhsh. This man originally belonged to the district of Kara in Oudh.²⁰⁵ While he was very young, and long before Kara was ceded to the company, he took service with Almass Ali Khan,²⁰⁶ a slave as well as the biggest amil of the Nawab-Wazir. In Almass's life time he had left the service of that amil, quietly and with the intention to go on a pilgrimage.²⁰⁷ Before he could obtain the Nawab-Wazir's permission to depart Almass died. After that, the more eager the Nawab-Wazir became to detain him in Lucknow the more impatient this person grew to leave the capital and the country of Oudh and to go back to Kara, which was now under the Company's rule.²⁰⁸ The Nawab-Wazir, it would seem, had allegations against him, that he had misappropriated and hidden part of Almass's property, which, under the prevailing laws of Oudh should have reverted to the State.²⁰⁹ Hyder, in the meanwhile, studiously cultivated the favour of the Resident by constant attendance on him.²¹⁰ He was now in possession of a pass-port from the Governor-General, Baillie took up the matter of his departure

202. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 432-433.

203. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 515.

204. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 541-545.

205. Oude Papers, Loc. Cit. p. 332.

206. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 11 p. 347.

207. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 335.

208. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 338.

209. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 332-333.

210. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 333.

with Saadut Ali, who was determined not to allow Hyder Bukhsh to go. Baillie flew into a rage and declared that he would send his own servants with Hyder to see him out of Lucknow and Oudh so that nobody could dare to stop him.²¹¹ Baillie's contentions were that Hyder, originally a resident of Kara, which was now the company's territory was a British subject and could not be detained at Lucknow; and that holding the pass-port from the Governor-General in this case was tantamount to the express injunction of the Governor-General that Hyder was not to be detained.²¹² The Nawab-Wazir held that Hyder had been born in what was then Oudh territory, and later reared under the eye of a slave of his own (i.e. Almass) whose slave in turn, he was.²¹³ Baillie continued obdurate and seeing this Saadut Ali, almost under compulsion, became lukewarm in his opposition, though he maintained that his rights were incontrovertible. He issued no written *Rahdari Dustuk* (the Oudh Pass-Port) in Hyder's favour but said verbally that he could go if the Resident insisted.²¹⁴ Thus it was that Hyder was allowed to leave. Minto sent his own sentiments on this point after the episode had been closed by the departure of Hyder Bukhsh; and so the curtain had been, willy nilly, wrung down on the trouble. The Chief Secretary's letter, embodying Minto's views, contains a most masterful, balanced, logical and judicious analysis of the situation and criticism of Baillie's conduct. In it, though he makes Baillie realise that the Supreme Government held views opposite to their envoy's, yet the latter is neither blamed nor rebuked. It was because Minto's past experience as a diplomat had taught him the futility of making bitter criticisms of a government's own diplomatic representatives. Nevertheless it was made plain that Hyder Bukhsh could not be considered a British subject, that the Governor-General's pass-port could not be interpreted to have the meaning Baillie had imputed, that Baillie's action had been a little too high-handed, that such wanton interference in the strictly domestic trivialities of Oudh was undiplomatic, that Baillie must make amends by telling the Nawab-Wazir this: "Even if Hyder has gone from Oudh, if your Excellency has allegations against him that are proved, and demands that are justifiable, we shall see to it that he is justly punished."²¹⁵ Minto

211. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 331, 338.

212. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 334, 338.

213. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 342.

214. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 344.

215. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. paras 10-18, p. 347-349.

discreetly kept quiet on the merits of the question in his communication to the Nawab-Wazir, merely expressing his satisfaction that by Hyder's departure at least one problem was solved.²¹⁶

There could be no greater proof, than this letter of the Governor-General, to show how unwarranted and irritating the little interferences of Baillie must have been to the Nawab-Wazir and also to what absurd limits this officer could go to use logic in support of the illogical troubles he stirred up.

(To be continued)

²¹⁶. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 379.

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History of Chambā State in Mughal and Sikh Times

BY

H. GOETZ, BARODA

The Impact of Mughal Rule: The impact of the Mughal Empire and of its civilization on the formation of later Hindu India can hardly be underestimated. But nevertheless it is difficult to evaluate. Its direct cultural influence became decisive only in the 18th century when it had ceased to be a dominating alien power, and when its political and economic collapse released a great number of well-trained administrators, soldiers, scholars, artists and artisans. During the 16th and 17th centuries, however, it acted mainly as a catalyser speeding up the internal transformation of Hindu civilization. By forcing itself on the indigenous states, it compelled them to modernize their administrative and military technique; by bringing together the Rājput princes at the imperial court and in the army, it intensified the exchange of new ideas; by giving power and wealth to the least anti-Muslim and, for the same reasons, culturally most revolutionary Rājput states, it fostered the growth and expansion of a civilization based not on a revival of

NOTE

This account is mainly based on J. Hutchinson and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, 2 vols., Lahore 1933, the *Chambā State Gazetteer*, the inscriptions, copperplates and paper documents mentioned in J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chambā State*, I, 1911, in the *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum*, Calcutta 1909, p. 52 ff., and in the *Northern Circle Reports of the Archaeological Survey*, and on informations and archaeological evidence collected in Chambā and in all the surrounding former hill states during visits in 1937, 1939, 1947 and 1952. In place of the loosely strung-up informations in the pioneer work of Hutchinson and Vogel, I have tried to elaborate a strictly reasoned political account. Many dates have been corrected or added as a result of the re-examination of the records, or of the coordination of the many local traditions, often vague in themselves, but complementary one to the other. I have, therefore, included such details from the history of other states as are relevant for the understanding of the general political situation; but I have omitted or summarized many of the romantic and sentimental anecdotes which often enough serve to minimize or hush up the real events, and likewise the subordinate dynastic details which now are no more of interest.

the Mediæval past, but on the revolution of the living folk tradition; by assimilating and transforming part of that native Rājput civilization, it prepared the ground for the later wholesale assimilation of Mughal civilization by the Rājputs. In Rājasthān the Hindu revival had started already in the late 14th century A.D., had reached its zenith under rānā Kumbha in the 15th, and degenerated in the early 16th century. Since the beginning of the 16th century a genuine Rājput tradition had replaced it, which spread over the whole of Rājasthān in the 16th and early 17th centuries, and disintegrated in the course of that latter century, to be superseded by imperial Mughal civilization which, in its turn, was in the second and third quarters of the 18th century transformed into a later Rājput civilization. This latter reached its maturity towards the end of the century and declined during the first half of the 19th century. In the Himālaya this revolution was belated. The Hindu revival started in the second quarter of the 15th century, reached its apogee in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, and died in the course of the 18th century. Rājput civilization penetrated not before the end of the 16th century, became dominant by the middle of the 17th, and was ousted by Mughal influence in the second to third quarters of the 18th. And from this latter again developed later Rājput culture at Pūnch, Jammū, Baśohli, Guler and Kāngrā since the second half of the 18th century, to be taken over by the Sikhs in the 19th.

The Dawn of a New Age: In Chambā the occupation of the state by Nūrpur and its recovery by Prithvī Singh formed the turning point. Before the reign of Ānandavarman (A.D. ca. 1475-1513) Chambā had been a backward hill state out of contact with contemporary developments. Under Ānandavarman it fell under the cultural influence of Kāngrā-Trigarta. Under Ganeśavarman (A.D. 1513-66), Pratāpsinghvarman (A.D. 1566-82), Vīrabhānu (A.D. 1582-89) and Balabhadravarman (A.D. 1589-1623, resp. 1641) it came in contact with the Mughal Empire and adopted the revivalist Hindu civilization which, at that time, was discarded in the North-Indian plains. After the restoration of Chambā state by Prithvī Singh in A.D. 1641 this revivalist civilization experienced a last renaissance; but its authority already was discredited by the previous political disaster, and after A.D. 1645 it was swept away by reforms introducing Mughal-Rājput military technique, administration, art and literature. But even this reform did not come quite unprecedented. For already during the 16th century titles like Singh, Miān, Dothain, Tirthain had been introduced; Akbar's

gold mohurs were used for treasure hoards; Ganeśgarh Fort was built according to the principles of Mughal technique. Already A.D. 1557 prince Pratāpsinghvarman had attended Akbar's durbār at Kalānaur; A.D. 1622 the regent Janārdan and his brother Bis-hambar had been presented to Jahāngīr and Nūrhān at Dhameri-Nūrpur. Prithvī Singh was the first really to be at home at the imperial court.

The Reconquest of Chambā: When in A.D. 1640 the Pathāniā rebellion started, the position of Nūrpur seemed very strong. Jagat Singh stood high in the imperial favour and was governor of Bangash (Kohāt and Kurram Valley), his son Rājrup was faujdār of the Koh-i Kāngrā and thus the controlling authority over all the states around Nūrpur. Nūrpur town, Maukot, and Tārāgarh were strongly fortified and garrisoned, the territory of the state vastly expanded. In the West the counteroffensive of Baśohlī had collapsed after the assassination of Bhūpatpāl A.D. 1635, in the East Mandi and Kulū were inimical, but not of much importance. Only the Mughal garrisons of Kāngrā Fort and of Pathānkot could form a serious obstacle to Jagat Singh's aspirations. When Rājrup rose in rebellion, Jagat Singh even could persuade the emperor to send him personally against his son and joined him. The rebellion took the Mughals so off their guard, that only in August 1641 three imperial armies under prince Murād Bakhsh were assembled. After very hard fighting they took Maukot, and two days later Nūrpur. The Pathānias retreated to the impregnable hill fortress Tārāgarh which offered them, moreover, a retreat into the interior Himālaya. Though the Lower Fort was taken, the Middle and Upper Forts of Tārāgarh held out through the bitter winter A.D. 1641-42. The Chambā Vamsāvalī claims that Prithvī Singh of Chambā was responsible for the successful suppression of the revolt. The Mughal historians mention him honourably, and this is very much as they tend to minimize the achievements of non-Muslims, even those in the imperial service. In summary Prithvī Singh's role in the Nūrpur war may best be compared with that of Lawrence of Arabia during the British conquest of Palestine in 1918. After having obtained some help from his protector Sūraj-Sen of Mandī (A.D. 1637-64), he marched in A.D. 1640 through Kulū into Lāhul where, under the weak Delegs Namgyal, Ladakhi rule was disintegrating. He won the support of the local rānās, and in the winter A.D. 1640-41, protected from Nūrpur interference by the closure of the mountain passes, built up some army of his own. Early in April 1641 he reached Pāngī, and as soon as the Chehni Pass could be crossed, invaded Churāh. From there he negotiated a treaty with

Sangrāmpāl of Balor. After Bhūpatpāl's assassination by Jagat Singh in A.D. 1635 not only Baśohlī control over Churāh had disappeared, but also the Bhalai and Jūndh parganas, former Chambā territory, had been annexed by Nūrpur, and Baśohlī had become a vassal of that latter state. The Baśohlī Government was badly weakened because Sangrāmpāl was still a boy, under the tutelage of his uncle Fatehchand. Baśohlī, therefore, likewise wished the overthrow of the Pathānias and, being a wealthy state, could provide Prithvī Singh with the necessary war funds; Prithvī Singh had to promise the Bhalai-Jūndh ilāqas, as a security as he interpreted the treaty, as a perpetual cession as the Baśohlī government saw it. The two parganas continued to be a bone of contention for the rest of the history of both states.

Now Prithvī Singh could expel the Nūrpur troops from Chambā town, threw back their reinforcements in a bloody battle over the ridge to its South in which the Chāmundā Temple and Nalhorā bridge were destroyed, and then joined the imperial troops. On the 16th December 1641 he was presented to prince Murādbakhsh and ordered to invest Tārāgarh from the mountain side, in company of Mān Singh of Guler. Details of the siege have been hushed up by the Mughal historians; but it seems that after attempts at storming the Middle and Upper Forts had failed, Jagat Singh's surrender was due to Prithvī Singh's advice to await the effects of the winter which made life on the snow-clad, storm-exposed and quite insufficiently equipped mountain ridge almost unbearable.

Jagat Singh was pardoned after his surrender in March A.D. 1742; but he was exiled to the Deccan, his conquests returned to their former owners, and of the rest half given to a younger brother who had fought on the imperial side. Tārāgarh became a Mughal garrison until late in Aurangzēb's reign.

The Reconstruction of Chambā State: Prithvī Singh was acknowledged as rājā of Chambā and in the following years visited Delhi at least seven times. Chambā tradition claims that he was a social success there and impressed even the ladies of the imperial zenāna. From these visits he brought home many costly presents, until the fire of 1937 preserved in the Chambā Toshakhāna. On the visit in A.D. 1645 to Benāres, Gāyā and Delhī the Raghubīr, a saligrām hitherto used as a weight in the Delhi palace, was revealed to him in a dream. It seems, however, that this was not merely an accidental discovery; for wherever in the Panjāb Himālaya we find idols, chapels and temples of Rāma, the ideal king-god, they are set up by rājās whose main policy had been the unification and cen-

tralization of their respective states. The first Rāma relief in Chambā had been ordered by Pratāpsinghvarman, the Raghubīr was set up by Prithvī Singh in the palace chapel as the special family idol, vying with the old Lakshmī-Nārāyan (Krishna).

Approximately in this same year (1645) Prithvī Singh started on the reform of his kingdom. No temples were built for the next eighty years, hardly any religious donations made after A.D. 1660; copperplate grants were no more issued after A.D. 1646, except on some rare and very solemn occasions (A.D. 1678 in defiance of Aurangzēb; 1748 for the safe return of Umēd Singh from Lahore, A.D. 1787 treaty with Sansār Chand of Kāngrā, A.D. 1856 by Śrī Singh to Lakshmī-Nārāyan, obviously an archaistic revival); the Sanskrit vamsāvalī ends in A.D. 1642. Instead, fire arms then seem to have been introduced, as some decades later they were common already in out-of-the way places. Paper was used for the administration and for paintings in the "Baśohlī" style. The administration was recast, now with a partly Mughal terminology. Probably Chambā palace was reconstructed with reliefs and paintings in the "Baśohlī" style, like those at Mehlā and in Brahmor Kothī.

Already on his march through Pāngī in A.D. 1640 Prithvī Singh had asserted his suzerainty by the grant of a sacrificial tax to the Chāmundā Temple at Mindhal. A.D. 1642 he deposed the local rānās and ensured his control by the construction of a road through the Phindru gorge between Sāch and Kilār. A.D. 1651 he made a donation to the Devī Temple at Porthī. Lāhul he could not recover. For A.D. 1647-49 the Mongols, conquering Central Tibet, had defeated also Delegs Namgyal of Ladakh, overrun Lāhul and ousted Jagat Singh (A.D. 1637-72) from the North of Kulū. But this danger forced Prithvī Singh to protect the passes to Brahmor, and probably on this occasion the Brahmor Kothī was built, with its fine Rājput ("Baśohlī") wood carvings. Also in the rest of the state such Kothīs were constructed, combined district offices, police quarters and store houses for the taxes paid in kind.

In other directions Prithvī Singh's policy was neither without success. Though, after the refund of the war loans, Baśohlī was in A.D. 1648 ordered by the Mughal governor to return the Bhalai-Jūndh 'ilāqas, the ambitious Samgrāmpāl not only refused but even made plans for the recovery also of Churāh. However, Prithvī Singh was recompensated by the jāgirs of Dūn and Nadāun taken away from the Katoches who despite the imperial occupation of Kāngrā Fort went on with their guerrilla war against the Mughals.

Chhattar (Śatru) Singh (A.D. 1664-90) continued his father's policy, with the assistance of his brother Jai Singh, as wazīr. Soon after the death of Prithvī Singh Samgrāmpāl of Basohli invaded Churāh. But his overbearing ambitions had already made him a general nuisance, and Chhattar Singh expelled him and recaptured Bhalai and Jūndh with the sanction of the Mughal governor Mir Khān (A.D. 1665). Shortly afterwards (A.D. 1667-68) he occupied also Pādar, the Chandrabhāga Valley between Pāngī and Kashtwār, and there erected Chhattargarh (destroyed by the Dogras A.D. 1836). Rājā Mahā Singh of Kashtwār (A.D. 1661-74) who then had incurred Aurangzēb's displeasure, could not oppose him. Also Lāhul could be reconquered. With Mughal help the Mongols had been expelled from Western Tibet (peace A.D. 1650), and about A.D. 1670 their influence waned also in Kulū and Lāhul. Jagat Singh who in the meantime had expanded his kingdom in the South up to the Sutlej, now reconquered also Northern Kulū and marched into Lāhul. It seems that on this occasion war between Chambā and Kulū was imminent. But it was avoided by a division of Lāhul and the marriage of Jagat Singh to a Chambā princess as whose "dowry" Eastern Lāhul was treated.

The reason for this sudden volteface from competition to alliance was Aurangzēb's anti-Hindu policy. For also the Chambā temples were to be pulled down. But in defiance Chhattar Singh had their pinnacles and the Garuda statues on the pillars in front of the Lakshmīnārāyan and Damodar Temples gilded, the temple śikhāras protected by wheel-roofs of the Kulū type, and a fine entrance gate provided for the Lakshmī-Nārāyan (A.D. 1678). He was ordered to Delhi, but sent his brother Sakat Singh, in company of Rāj Singh of Guler (A.D. 1675-95). But at Bajwāra near Hoshiārpur they turned home. Aurangzēb was preoccupied with the war in the Deccan, the rebellions of the Jāts and Rājputs, and was hardly in a position to enforce his orders.

The Period of Mughal Decline: Already before Chhattar Singh's death A.D. 1690 the disintegration of Mughal rule in the Pānjāb Himālaya had set in. The Deccan war drained the financial and manpower resources of the empire. The Mughal garrisons were reduced and at last abandoned, with the sole exception of Kāngrā Fort. The Mughal troops and officials were left without pay, and helped themselves by raiding the Hindu states, sure that Aurangzēb would and could not disapprove. As the hill rājās defended themselves, Mughal rule soon disappeared but in name. The Mughal governors still issued orders, but they could not en-

force them, except by playing out *rājā* against *rājā*, and prince against prince. This again caused an internal crisis in many states, and at last a return to that policy of individual grabbing which the Mughals had so long kept in check, but which now resulted in the gradual elimination of all smaller states and in the emergence of a few feudal confederacies competing for the supremacy over the Panjāb hills.

A.D. 1690 seems to have been the approximate date of the end of *de facto* Mughal control. For in this year the combined forces of Jāmmū, Bāsohlī, Chambā and Guler defeated an invasion of Khwāja Rizā Bēg (Mīrzā Rēziā Beg), "governor of the Panjāb", but probably merely *faujdār* of Kalānaur or Pathānkot. Thereafter all forts still held by the Mughals were evacuated, except Kāngrā.

Udai Singh (A.D. 1690-1720) who not long after this victory had followed his father Chhattar Singh, was a weak character. But for the time being everything went well, as his able uncle Miān Jai Singh continued to act as *wazīr*. Internally the state was further strengthened by the extension of the administrative reforms to Trehtā and Lāhul which districts Udai Singh visited in person. Building activities revived (Sītārām Temple in the Kharūrā quarter, Devī Temple of Bhatāлкуān, repairs at the Mānimaheśa at Brahmor and the Bhagvatī near Chambā, Dyol and Mirkulā-Udaipur Kothīs, Udaipur hunting lodge below Chambā town), revealing an increasing infiltration of Mughal influence, and also a general decline of artistic standards.

But after Jai Singh's death ca. A. D. 1696 the administration disintegrated. Udai Singh, self-willed, took to evil ways, spent his days in debaucheries and sensual pleasures and at last appointed as his *wazīr* a barber with whose daughter he had fallen in love. Probably in A.D. 1708 he was removed from government and his cousin Ugar Singh made regent. But after a month Udai Singh reasserted himself so that Ugar Singh had to flee to Jammū. At last his rule became so intolerable that a conspiracy of the nobles and officials was formed, and he was cut down, together with his brother Lakshman Singh, at Udaipur hunting lodge, in A.D. 1720.

This catastrophe inaugurated a critical period. For the conspirators had intended only to depose Udai Singh, and to set up and as Lakshman Singh had at the last moment gone over to him, both had to be killed. Now no direct legitimate successor was left, except two babies, too young to be considered. The officials; al-

ready divided thanks to Udai Singh's maladministration, had the choice between several princes, all descendants of Prithvī Singh. Thus things were ripe for civil war and for interference from outside, at the very time when the most powerful neighbours of Chambā, especially Dhirājpāl of Basohli (A.D. 1693-1725), Dhrūb-Dev of Jammū (A.D. 1703-35) and Hamīr Chand of Kāngrā (A.D. 1700-1747), had already started on a policy of conquest.

Already in A.D. 1695 the combined troops of Basohli, Bhadrū and Jammū, under the command of Dhirājpāl, had invaded Guler where after the death of Rāj Singh (who in A.D. 1679 had been prepared to accompany Chhattar Singh's brother Sakat Singh on his dangerous mission to the court of Aurangzēb) a child, Dalip Singh (A.D. 1695-1730), had been raised to the throne. But on the appeal of the queen-mother an alliance of Chambā, Mandī and Kahlūr (Bilāspur) drove them out. Nevertheless the war dragged on, and peace was concluded not before A.D. 1708. As Guler and Nūrpur soon thereafter entered the sphere of Kāngrā influence, the Dogras did no more venture on an expansion in this direction. But Dhirājpāl attacked Chambā again in A.D. 1625 and was killed in the battle.

Nevertheless Chambā passed slowly into the orbit of the rulers of Jammū, first of Dhrūb-Dev, then of Ranjīt-Dev (A.D. 1735-81) who brought under their control all the states west of Rāvi. After Udai Singh's assassination Ugar Singh (A.D. 1720-35) returned to Chambā with a Jammū escort and was installed as ruler. But he was aware of the weakness of his claims and of that of the party supporting him, and the memory of Udai Singh's bloody end became an obsession. As this was ascribed to the ghost of the childless (autar = aputra) deceased, a lofty (though barbarian) temple was erected in atonement of the crime; but it was of no avail. Thus Ugar Singh turned to repression. The most dangerous pretender, however, Dalel (Dilēr) Singh was beyond his reach as he had likewise found a refuge at the Jammū court. Ugar Singh succeeded in denouncing him to the Mughal governor, Zakariā Khān, who had him handed over by Dhrūb-Dev and imprisoned in Lahore Fort. However, this proved Ugar Singh's own undoing. For when his oppression became unbearable, another conspiracy was hatched. The viceroy was won over by the present of a lakh of Rupees, Ugar Singh declared deposed, Bhalai and Jūndh again transferred to Medinīpāl of Basohli (A.D. 1725-57), and Dūn and Nadāun resumed soon to return to their original owners, the rajās of Kāngrā. When a Mughal force brought Dalel Singh to Chambā, Ugar Singh set

fire to the wooden town and from the Chāmundā Temple on the ridge south of it watched the conflagration which destroyed most documents and art treasures of the preceding hundred years. Then Ugar Singh fled up the Rāvi Valley and died at last in Kāngrā from a wound in the thigh caused by a bullet which at Jūh in Chanhota the rānā of Gurolā had fired at the fallen oppressor.

Dalel Singh's rule (A.D. 1735-48) was beneficent, and as he was on good terms with Zakariyā Khān, he received the jāgīr of Pathyār as a recompensation for the forfeited Dūn and Nadāun. But this grant proved to be no more than a Macchiavellian move. For Pathyār which Todar-Mall had in A.D. 1573 taken from Chambā for the imperial demesne, had already fallen into the hands of the Katoches who ignored three successive imperial sanads (A.D. 1744, 1746, 1747). Like Bhalai and Jūndh had become the bone of contention between Basohli and Chambā, Pathyār, still under a local rānā Silachand, was destined to be a similar constant source of conflict with the Katoches.

However, in A.D. 1748 also Dalel Singh was deposed. His protector Zakariyā Khān had died in A.D. 1745 and three years later also the latter's worthless sons had disappeared from the scene. The new viceroy Mu'in-ud-dīn Mīr Mannū became interested in Udai Singh's two sons, now grown up, though still political prisoners. When prince Umēd Singh returned with a Dogra escort, Dalel Singh offered no opposition, but diligently handed the administration over, turned sādhu and died at last at the holy temple of Jalpadevi at Jwalamukhi.

Chambā as a Protegee of Jammū: In the meantime fateful events had occurred all around. A.D. 1738-39 the Persian invasion of Nādir Shāh had swept down over the Panjāb and Delhī, and in A.D. 1747 the Afghān invasions of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī and of his successors had set in. Since A.D. 1739 the Panjāb was practically autonomous, until A.D. 1752 nominally under Delhī, thereafter under Kābul. After the death of Zakariyā Khān A.D. 1745 its administration quickly broke up under the double stress of weak governors and endless war depredations, in A.D. 1759 it had disappeared, and since A.D. 1764 only a chaos was left. The various temporary rulers of the Panjāb could not even play out the one nominal allegiance of the most powerful of them. Ranjīt-Dev of Jammū and Ghamand-Chand of Kāngrā thus became their representatives (nāzim, wazīr) in the hills, of course using this position

only for the purpose of obtaining control over the other rājās. Ghamand Chand, however, was temporarily handicapped by the efforts of Adīna Beg to re-establish direct Mughal rule (between A.D. 1755 and 1758). Soon thereafter the Himālayan valleys were periodically disturbed by Sikh raids and Sikh mercenaries; but these latter became dangerous only after A.D. 1780 and deadly to the hill states between A.D. 1801 and 1812.

The first years of Umēd Singh's reign (A.D. 1748-64) were comparatively peaceful. However, even in A.D. 1748 when Umēd Singh visited the viceroy after the battle of Manūpur, conditions were already so bad in the plains that a special recitation of the Durgāsaptasati had to be instituted as a prayer for the rājā's safe return from Lahore. And after the cession of the Panjāb to Ahmad Shāh Durrānī in A.D. 1752 the central administration collapsed in the hills. All the rājās took such territories as they could, and Umēd Singh, fortified by the grant of Pathyār to Dalel Singh and an additional grant of Pālam and Barnī which he had obtained from Mu'in-ud-dīn in the preceding year, reoccupied all the former conquests (between A.D. 1563-1573) of Pratāpsinghvarman. Later he even penetrated into Barā Bangāhal and Bīr Bangāhal, though Chhotā Bangāhal he had to leave to Ghamand-Chand of Kāngrā.

The years between A.D. 1752 and 1758 were the happiest period of Umēd Singh's reign. The disappearance of foreign overlordship and the new conquests aroused feelings of self-confidence and hope like in Pratāpsinghvarman's time, and found expression in similar activities at home. However, as Umēd Singh had been educated at the Mughal court, and as after the collapse of the Mughal empire refugee administrators, artists, artisans and scholars from the plains had become available, this renaissance introduced the provincial Mughal tradition of the early 18th century. We can trace it in Basohlī mainly under Medinīpāl and Amritpāl, in Guler under Govardhan-Chand and Prakāsh Chand, in Kāngrā under Hamīr and Ghamand-Chand, in Jammū under Ranjīt Dev. In Chambā the administrative reform begun by Prithvī Singh was completed by Umēd Singh (see Chambā Gazetteer). In Mehlā, a śikhara stone shrine, decorated with archaic Mughal ornaments, was added to the Hirmā temple of Dāi Batlū. At Devī-ri-Kothī in Churāh A.D. 1754 the wooden Chāmundā temple was erected, the walls and ceilings of which are completely covered with painted or carved panels in the Mughal-Rājput style. In Chambā town the Khanchandī Palace was built, with vast murals in Mughal technique, representing scenes from the Mahābhārata; panels with fine figural reliefs in the

best Mughal style from some other palace buildings destroyed in A.D. 1774 were later on re-used in Chāmundā Temple. The Rangmahal south of the town, and the Rājnagar Palace at Naḍā where the Rāvi turns towards the plains, both in provincial Mughal style, were completed in A.D. 1755. To Prithvī Singh's Kothī at Brah-mor a wing covered with figural reliefs in the Mughal style was added, probably about A.D. 1762. Of Umēd Singh's reign are most of the earlier (Mughal-) Rājput miniatures now preserved in the Bhūrī Singh Museum.

But in A.D. 1758 fortune turned against Umēd Singh. First Adīna Beg tried to re-establish the imperial demesne. When he died, Ghamand-Chand of Kāngrā, nominally his successor as nāzim, started on an offensive with a corps of 1000 Afghān mercenaries. Though he could not capture Kāngrā Fort which had withstood his attack already in A.D. 1752, he took all the other territories held by Adīna Beg, made Guler his vassal and invaded the Chambā districts south of the Dhaulā Dhār, Bangāhal and even Kulū. At the same time Umēd Singh was attacked in the Southwest by Amritpāl of Basohlī (A.D. 1757-1775) who subjected the States of Bhadu, Jasrota and Lakhanpur, annexed part of Nūrpur, invaded Bhadrawāh and took Bhalai and Jūndh from Chambā. A sanad A.D. 1758 in favour of Umēd Singh was of no avail as Adīna Beg died. The only ally on whom Umēd Singh could fall back, was his father-in-law Ranjīt-Deo of Jammū (A.D. 1735-81), the nāzim of the Dogra hills. But Ranjīt-Dev who already had forced Basohlī into vassalage in the time of Jit-Pāl (A.D. 1736-57), was naturally loath to check conquests which, through his vassal, were virtually his own. Umēd Singh, therefore, had to accept the loss for the time being. But Ranjīt-Dev's help proved valuable at least in the struggle with Ghamand-Chand. Though two Afghān sanads, obtained in A.D. 1762 thanks to the mediation of Ranjīt-Dev, proved ineffective to recover Pathyār, another sanad shows that in the same year he had retaken Charī which belonged to Saif 'Alī Khān, the governor of Kāngrā Fort. But in reply Ghamand-Chand invaded Bīr Bangāhal and Chhotā Bangāhal, the neighbours of the districts of Brah-mor and Trehtā belonging to Chambā. When in A.D. 1764 Umēd Singh died and left only a minor son, the situation became most critical. During the regency of his widow, a Jammū princess, the country was defended by a Jammū official, the wazīr Aklū. And when in A.D. 1770 Ghamand-Chand of Kāngrā was made tributary by the Sikh leader Jassā Singh Rāmgarhia, Aklū succeeded in driving out the Katoches from Bīr Bangāhal. But

Aklū acted more and more as viceroy of Ranjīt-Dev. Chambā had become a vassal of Jammū.

Chambā as Heir of the Jammū Hegemony: When Umēd Singh's successor Rāj Singh (born A.D. 1755) came of age, the political situation was reverted. Ranjīt-Dev had become very old, and died in A.D. 1781. His successor Brajrāj-Dev (A.D. 1781-87), inefficient and without political judgment, brought in the Sikhs in connection with the bitter quarrel with his brother Dalel Singh. In the Kāngrā Valley the Katoches were struggling against the Sikh Misls. In A.D. 1776 Jassā Singh Rāmgarhia who had bossed them since A.D. 1770, was ousted with the help of Jai Singh Kanheya, who again was expelled in A.D. 1786 by an alliance of the Katoches with the Rāmgarhia and Sukerchakia Misls of the Sikhs. Only when on this occasion Sansār Chand II at last obtained Kāngrā Fort, he could again dream of dominating the eastern Panjāb hills. Until then the Katoches had to move cautiously. These developments gave Chambā respite from Katoch pressure and a free hand against the Dogras. This permitted Rāj Singh to liberate his kingdom from the Dogra domination, to humiliate Basohli and to build up an empire of his own at the cost of Jammū until the struggle with Kāngrā was resumed during his last years.

About A.D. 1771 Rāj Singh came of age. After his mother's death ca. A.D. 1772 his relations with Aklū, the wazir who had been imposed by Jammū, soon became strained. In A.D. 1773-4 Aklū was arrested and thrown into prison, and the many Jammū officials with whom he had filled all posts, were expelled. In reply Amritpāl of Basohli swooped down on Churāh and Chambā, burning down Rājnagar Palace, Rāj Singh's birthplace and also part of Umēd Singh's palace in the capital. Rāj Singh who had not yet been able to reorganize his administration, was forced to call in the Sikhs under Jassā Singh Rāmgarhia. They expelled the Balauria army, but had to be paid a lakh of Rupees as immediate indemnity and an annual tribute of Rs. 4,001 thereafter. Amritpāl was so aggrieved that he turned sādhu, and secretly left his country.

After the fall of Jassā Singh, Rāj Singh first secured his back by a preliminary treaty on Rihlu in A.D. 1780 with Sansār Chand of Kāngrā (A.D. 1775-1823), a general non-aggression treaty with Kāngrā and Guler in A.D. 1781, and an understanding with Brajrājdev of Jammū (A.D. 1781-87) in which his claims on Bhalai and Jūndh, and on the Churāh districts still held by Basohli were acknowledged. Brajrāj-Dev had a bitter feud with his brothers and

nephews, especially Dalel Singh whom he got assassinated. Dalel Singh's son Jīt Singh summoned the Bhangī Sikhs to his help, Brajrāj called the Rāmgarhias and Sukerchakias all of whom were only interested in pillaging and dismembering the Jammū state. Brajrāj-Dev, paralyzed, was prepared to accept any changes as long as his rule was acknowledged. By posing also further on as a loyal vassal of Jammū and treating the expulsion of Aklū and then the defeat of Basohli as mere internal quarrels within the framework of the Jammū empire, Rāj Singh could maintain himself in the favour of Brajrāj-Dev and take over practically the whole sphere of Jammū influence in the interior Himālaya.

In A.D. 1782 at last Rāj Singh took possession of Bhalai and Jūndh, defeated Bijaipāl (A.D. 1775-1806), captured Basohli, and looted its famous palace. In A.D. 1783 Brajrājdev of Jammū gave his sanction to these conquests. A.D. 1783 also Bhadravāh and Kashtwār were transferred by Brajrāj-Dev to the control of Chambā. Already in A.D. 1774 Rāj Singh had married rājā Fatehpāl's (A.D. 1770-90) sister Nagīnu, and later he found a local partisan in Bhūpchand, the Rājā's ambitious younger brother and husband of a Chambā princess, Atharbānū. Bhadravāh Fort was taken by the Chambā wazīr Nathū Barotrū, and in A.D. 1785 a formal treaty was signed by which Fatehpāl was forced to accept a Chambā garrison, to provide supplies and troops and to hand over the control of foreign relations to Rāj Singh. Kashtwār State was likewise rent by dynastic dissensions. One brother of the insane rājā Mihr Singh Sa'idmand Khān (A.D. 1771-86), Sujān Singh, had fled to Jammū, two others, Dalel Singh and Kundan Singh, to Chambā. Already in A.D. 1774 Rāj Singh had forced Fatehpāl to promise Bhadravāh troops for the invasion of Kashtwār. But in the same year Bijaipāl of Basohli tried to forestall Chambā by invading the same state. Mihr Singh fled to the Afghān governor of Kashmīr.

A.D. 1786 Rāj Singh sent an army under the nominal command of his son Jīt Singh (a boy of eleven years) which was joined by a Bhadravāh contingent under Bhūpchand, forced the Basohli troops to retreat and occupied the country. Kundan Singh was made rājā. But in the meantime prince Sujān Singh had raised a force in Jammū and joined Mihr Singh who returned with Afghān troops, so that after six months the Chambā army had to evacuate Kashtwār. As Mihr Singh died, Sujān Singh became rājā, but likewise died after two months. His successor Prithvī Singh, the surreptitious son of Mihr Singh, was after half a year drowned by prince Ajīt Singh, whereon Sampūran Dev of Jammū (A.D. 1787-96) had

Kashtwār ruled by some Lāldev (a Jammū prince?). A rebellion in A.D. 1788 brought Ināyat-Ullah Singh, son of Sujān Singh, on the throne who in A.D. 1789 was followed by his minor son Tēgh Singh (A.D. 1789-1820). Both maintained themselves by becoming vassals of Kashmīr, and only fifteen years later Chambā could regain control over Kashtwār for a few years.

This failure had its repercussion in Bhadrawāh. Fatehpāl was suspected of likewise intriguing against his overlord, was in A.D. 1790 deposed and brought as a prisoner to Chambā. In A.D. 1794 his son and successor Dayapāl fell under the same suspicion, was replaced by Bhūp Chand, but restored when that latter, too, proved too dangerous and was also imprisoned in the Chambā palace whereafter Dayapāl was restored under stricter supervision (until A.D. 1810).

In the meantime the glory of Jammū had faded out. In A.D. 1786 the Bhangī Sikhs had again invaded the state and the next year killed Brajrāj-Dev in a battle. His successor Sampūran-Dev (A.D. 1787-97) and the last rājā, Jit-Dev (A.D. 1797-1801-1812), were children. The tribute, irregularly levied by the Sikhs in Brajrāj-Dev's reign, now became permanent; in A.D. 1801 Jit-Dev had to submit to Ranjīt Singh of Lahore, A.D. 1812 he was deposed, and the state given as a fief to prince Kharak Singh. The empire of Ranjīt-Dev had disappeared and was partitioned between Chambā, Kashmīr and the Sikhs. Rāj Singh of Chambā had become its heir, but he had also lost the protection which it once had offered to Umēd Singh against the encroachments of Ghamand-Chand of Kāngrā.

Now it was the increasing danger from Sansār Chand II of Kāngrā (A.D. 1775-1823) which enforced the slackening of Chambā policy in Kashtwār after A.D. 1786. As already mentioned, in A.D. 1781 the Katoch ruler had concluded a treaty of non-aggression with Rāj Singh of Chambā, and renewed it most solemnly (engraved on a copperplate) in A.D. 1787. His reasons were the same as those of Rāj Singh, i.e., he needed a free hand in other directions. As Rāj Singh freed himself from Jammū and extended his influence over Basohlī, Bhadrawāh and Kashtwār, Sansār Chand got rid of the Mughals and Sikhs, and built up an empire in the Kāngrā Valley. In A.D. 1776 he got Jassā Singh Rāmgarhiā expelled by Jai Singh Kanheya, and in A.D. 1781 started the siege of Kāngrā Fort in cooperation with the latter. The fort fell A.D. 1783 when the old Mughal governor Saif 'Alī Khān died; but Sansār Chand

who had hoped to obtain the fortress, had the mortification of seeing it occupied by his "ally". At last in A.D. 1786 the Katoches, combining with the Rāmgaria and Sukerchakia Sikhs, at Batala defeated Jai Singh Kanheya who now had to evacuate Kāngrā Fort. Now at last master in his own house, Sansār Chand started subjecting the surrounding states. A.D. 1785 he supported Uchalpāl of Bangāhal in an invasion of Mandī in order to recover part of his patrimony, but disavowed him after having obtained tribute from Mandī and Kulū. Next year he concluded a treaty against Kulū with Mandī, Bilāspur and Chambā. In A.D. 1792 he invaded Mandī and brought its child-ruler, Ísvārī-Sen (A.D. 1788-1826), home as a prisoner. Suket State submitted on the same occasion. At the same time he broke up Guler State by allying himself with Dhyān Singh, its former wazīr and now ruler of Kotla. Next it was the turn of Nūrpur where likewise a child, Bīr Singh (A.D. 1789-1846), was ruler.

Rāj Singh who had grown increasingly suspicious despite the protestations of Sansār Chand, and who already in A.D. 1787 had got the defences of Tārāgarh repaired, came to the support of Nūrpur. Now Sansār Chand regarded the old non-aggression pact as broken and demanded Rihlū, the fort of which Rāj Singh strengthened instead. In A.D. 1794 Sansār Chand at Nerti surprised Rāj Singh who with only a small escort had visited the Nūrpur troops and, outnumbered, was slain.

The Competition with Kāngrā: As the Chambā administration was in the strong hands of the loyal wazīr Nathū Barotrū, Rāj Singh's death did not create a crisis. The field troops and Rihlū fort held out, and Sansār Chand concluded peace with Jīt Singh (A.D. 1794-1808), content with the token cession of a few villages. He preferred to invade Bilāspur (Kahlūr) A.D. 1795 where the nobles were up in rebellion against rājā Mahan Singh (A.D. 1778-1824). Instead, Bijaipal of Basohli (A.D. 1776-1806) thought the time ripe for revenging his disgrace in A.D. 1782, and invaded Chambā, trying to reoccupy Bhalai and Jūndh. In A.D. 1796 Jīt Singh retaliated and conquered the Balauria Rāj, restoring Bijai-pāl in A.D. 1797 on payment of a heavy war indemnity. Probably the already mentioned troubles in Bhadravāh A.D. 1794-96, leading to the successive arrests of Dayapāl and Dhūpchand, were no more than an echo of the war with Basohli.

Now Jīt Singh's prestige was so great that when somewhat later he wanted to undertake a pilgrimage to Devī Mallā (Śārādā

(Devī) at Sukral, the rājās of Basohli, Bhadu and Rāmnagar bought him off with half a lakh of Rupees. And Shāh-Zamān of Kābul entrusted him A.D. 1797 with the diwānī over the hills, by the side of Sampūran-Dev of Jammū (who was probably considered as heir of Ranjīt-Deo, the former Afghān nāzim, but had just died). Chambā was more and more acknowledged as the leader of all the states not yet subjected by Sansār-Chand II of Kāngrā. A.D. 1801-02 a block was formed, comprising, besides Chambā, Nūrpur, Basohli, Jasrota, Mānkot, Bhadrawāh, Kashtwār and Jammū. At the same time Chambā negotiated also with Kulū and Kahlūr. Yet Sansār Chand's power now reached its zenith so that in the next year he annexed Kahlūr west of the Sutlej and even invaded the Panjāb plains, though he was repelled by Ranjīt Singh of Lahore near Hoshiārpur. Jīt Singh had to conclude a treaty of "alliance" with Kāngrā, which forced him to send troops in support of Sansār Chand in case of a war. But this treaty meant no more than temporizing. For in the meantime negotiations went on, especially with the Gurkhas of Nepāl who then had reached the left bank of the Sutlej. Jīt Singh was acknowledged as their "wazīr" in the hills west of Kāngrā. Thus the war started in which the Gurkhas, called in by the hill rājās, and the Sikhs, summoned by Sansār Chand II in extremis, were to overrun the western Himālaya, and to subject and annex its Rājput kingdoms. But Jīt Singh did no more witness this catastrophe; he died during the siege of Kāngrā Fort by the Gurkhas.

In comparison with the political position which Chambā occupied under Rāj Singh and Jīt Singh, the artistic output of that time is disappointingly meagre, though of high quality. The victories had been dearly paid for, and most of the tributes levied on Basohli, Bhadrawāh and Kashtwār had again to be spent on armaments. Extensive fortification works were undertaken at Tārāgarh, Rihlū, and probably also at Prithvī-Jor, Bhadrawāh, etc. After the invasion of Amritpāl A.D., 1774 Chambā town and the Pakkī Chaukī (old Palace) therein had also to be reconstructed and repaired. Rājnagar was left in ruins. Rāj Singh continued the work at the Rang Mahal begun by his father and completed the śikhara temple of Hirmā at Mehlā. Some śikhara temples of his reign are found also on the road south of Chambā town; the traditional religious sculptures therein and in other temples are of a queer, doll-like elegance and slimness. But his chief monument is the reconstruction of the Chāmundā temple above the town, a wooden hill temple with a ceiling completely covered with reliefs in the

"Kāngrā" style. The portraits, historical and mythological miniatures of his time are executed first in a mixed Mughal-Rājput, later in the pure "Kāngrā" style. The artists seem to have come from outside, from Guler and Basohli especially. Of art under Jit Singh even less is known. His own and prince Charhat Singh's portraits were added on the facade of the Chāmundā temple at Devī-rī Kothī in Churāh, and probably some of the best miniatures in the Bhuri Singh Museum may be attributed to his reign. The strict economy of wazīr Nathū which permitted Chambā to pass through those critical years without debts, did not allow of much extravagance.

Struggle for Survival: The last years of Jit Singh's reign had witnessed a complete reversal of the world-political situation which had made the political dreams of the Rājput hill states possible at all. Afghānistān lost even its precarious control over the Panjāb, and the Sikhs were united by Ranjīt Singh of Lahore between A.D. 1798 and 1812. Divided into the 12 Misls and quarrelling one with the other, they had already been a danger for the hill states; united and drilled by European officers, they became irresistible. Moreover, the Dogras of Jammū, under a junior line of princes joining the Sikhs, attacked the other states from the west and north, whereas the Gurkhas weakened them by their invasion from the East. At this very juncture Chambā was burdened with a child (Charhat Singh A.D. 1808-1844) on the throne, later to grow into an indolent ruler, to be followed by two other nonentities. That the state survived, was due to three facts: It had in the queen-regent Śārādā Devī and the wazīrs Nathū and Bhāga some efficient and devoted administrators. As the second power in the hills it was neither so prominent to be broken completely, nor so small as to be swallowed without consideration. It could accomodate itself to the new powers and buy off all designs on its existence by sacrificing one conquest after the other, until it was taken over into the British system of protected states, at last to go as a "relic of the past" with the disappearance of British rule.

The Gurkha invasion A.D. 1805 started over the internal troubles of Kahlūr (Bilāspur) State. There the nobles, i.e., the princes of the later Simla States, were since many years in revolt against rājā Mahan Singh, and already in A.D. 1895 Sansār-Chand had taken the opportunity to invade the country. When in A.D. 1804 he annexed the whole western border of the Sutlej, Mahan Singh, driven to desperation by the rājā of Nalagarh, implored the Gurkha leader, Amar Singh Thapa, for assistance. That latter

had received invitations also from the rājās further to the West to liberate them likewise from the Katoch yoke. A.D. 1805 Amar Singh Thapa crossed the Sutlej, defeated Sansār Chand who was weakened by an untimely reform of his army, at Mahal-Moriān, took his capital Tira-Sujānpur and summer residence Nadāun, freed Ísvārī-Sen, the imprisoned rājā of Mandī, and in A.D. 1806 laid siege to Kāngrā Fort, whither Sansār Chand had fled. For three years the siege of the impregnable fortress dragged on until starvation forced Sansār Chand to offer his submission to Ranjīt Singh of Lahore if he would relieve him. Also the other hill rājās were prepared to change sides as the depredations of the Gurkhas had already exasperated them. But Ranjīt Singh, convinced that Sansār Chand would never keep his promise when relieved from his difficulties, was most cautious. At last wazīr Nathū of Chambā succeeded in negotiating an agreement, sworn over the holy flame of Jwalamukhī. The Gurkhas, attacked by the Sikhs in front, and harrassed by the hill rājās in the back, were driven out in A.D. 1809, and in A.D. 1813-14 they were expelled also from the Simla States, Garhwāl and Kumāon by the British.

Instead, the Sikhs became the lords. Already in A.D. 1801 Jammū had become dependent. A.D. 1809 Ranjīt Singh occupied Pathānkot, Jasrota, Basohli, Kāngrā Fort and State, and Jambhārī in Bilāspur. A.D. 1810 Kulū was invaded, and Chambā had to buy off a threatening invasion. A.D. 1811 Kotla was annexed; A.D. 1812 Akhnūr and Bhīmbar were subdued. In the same year Ranjīt Singh held a great durbār in which all the hill rājās had to pay homage to him. But annexation continued, generally by first asking for a tribute which the state was unable to pay, and then taking over the country and deposing its ruler. A.D. 1812 Jammū disappeared, 1813 Guler, 1814 Kashmīr was attacked, 1815 Nūrpur, 1819 Kashmīr, 1820 Mānkot and Kashtwār, 1822 Pūnch and Bandh-rāla, 1827 Kāngrā State, 1834 Jasrota and Ladakh, 1836 Basohli and Bhoti were annexed. However, part of these conquests were not made by the Sikhs themselves, but by three brothers of a junior line of the Jammū house, Dhyān Singh, Suchet Singh and Gulāb Singh, who had joined the Sikhs and rose high in the court and army of Ranjīt Singh, laying the foundations of the later Jammū-Kashmīr State.

Chambā survived by a similar, though less successful policy. As representative of the hill rājās during the Gurkha war, wazīr Nathū had already in A.D. 1809 made himself useful to Ranjīt Singh in negotiating the agreement with Sansār Chand. In A.D.

1814 he saved Ranjīt Singh's life at a critical moment of the winter campaign against Kashmīr, and since then could reckon on the Sikh ruler's friendship. When the interests of Chambā clashed with those of more influential court favourites, he generally was the loser; but Ranjīt Singh would mitigate the loss or recompensate him otherwise.

Since the rise of the Sikh power Kashtwār had again slipped from Chambā control. In A.D. 1815-16 rājā Tegh Singh had incurred the displeasure of Ranjīt Singh by sheltering Shāh Shujā of Afghānistān who had fled from the Lahore court. Thus in A.D. 1820 Gulāb Singh annexed the state. In consequence Pahār Chānd (son of Bhūpchand) who in A.D. 1810 had followed Dayapāl on the throne of Bhadrawāh, rebelled against Chambā and defeated an army led against him by wazīr Nathū. Thereon Desā Singh Majithia, the Sikh governor of Kāngrā, claimed Rihlū as part of the former imperial demesne, and besieged and took the fort. Nathū saved the situation by personally proceeding to Lahore in A.D. 1821 and obtaining a sanad from Ranjīt Singh, confirming Chambā in the possession of Bhadrawāh, returning the village of Rānītār in Rihlū district which had been the personal jāgīr of the rānīs of Chambā and remitting an annual tribute of 30,000 in consideration of the territorial loss. When Nathū returned to Bhadrawāh with a Sikh force, Paharchand realized that resistance was useless and fled to Amritsar. Bhadrawāh was annexed to Chambā.

The next trouble was caused by Nūrpur which had been annexed by the Sikhs in A.D. 1815. Its rājā Bīr Singh, married to a sister of Charhat Singh, tried to recapture his state in A.D. 1826, was expelled by a Sikh force, fled to Chambā, had to be surrendered, was for seven years imprisoned in Govindgarh Fort near Amritsar, and was at last ransomed in A.D. 1834.

Another friction arose over Pādar in the Chandrabhāga Valley. During the later years of Tsepāl Namgyal when the rule of Leh already was in full disintegration, and when the Kulavīs and Lāhulis invaded the adjoining districts of Ladakh, the Chambā governor (Pālasrā) of Pādar had annexed Zanskar. When a decade later, in A.D. 1834, Ladakh was taken by the Dogras, those latter not only claimed Zanskar, but also the right of passage from there to Kashtwār, because the road through Kashmīr was under direct Sikh administration. Naturally the Pālasrā was opposed even to a temporary sojourn of Dogra troops in Pādar, afraid that it might turn into a permanent occupation. In consequence Chhattargarh was

besieged and destroyed in A.D. 1836 (later Gulābgarh was founded in its place), and Zanskar as well as Pādar annexed to the Dogra kingdom. The Chambā government had to disown its loyal governor and to accept the loss. However, an attempt of Gulāb Singh's general, Zorāwar Singh Kahlūria, to conquer also Bhadravāh was beaten off.

Nevertheless, those years were, on the whole, not so bad for the state. For as long as Chambā was protected by the personal friendship between wazīr Nathū and Ranjit Singh, conditions were comparatively stable. And the burden of the heavy tribute to the Sikhs was alleviated by the reduction of direct military expenditure. Artistic activities, therefore, were much more conspicuous than in the two preceding reigns, though they lacked their vitality and high spirit. In A.D. 1825 the queen-mother, rānī Śārādā of Jammū, erected the last big temple in Chambā, the Rādhā-Krishna, in the mixed Mughal-Hindu style developed at Guler under Govardhan-Chand (ca. A.D. 1730-60), and the fountain house (with "Kāngrā" murals) of Suhi-dā Marh, at the end of Sāhillavarman's aqueduct (10th century A.D.). Charhat Singh himself, interested only in his ladies and in religious ceremonies, spent mainly on his zanāna palaces, the Pakkī Chaukī, the Rang Mahal and a garden house on the ruins of Rājnagar; their architecture is cheap, but they are richly decorated in the "Kāngrā" style. The miniatures executed during Śārādā Devī's regency are excellent, especially the Ukhā-Charitra Album in the Bhuri Singh Museum, probably the work of a refugee artist from Sujānpur. The miniatures of Charhat Singh's later reign reveal a rapid degeneration. Under the regency probably also rumāl work was introduced from Basohli and Sujānpur, though occasionally such embroideries were made already in Rāj Singh's time.

A.D. 1838 Nathū died and his son Bhāga became wazīr. The next year Ranjit Singh died at Lahore, and was succeeded by Kharrak Singh (A.D. 1839-41). Chambā, now unprotected, was drawn into the vortex of the disintegration of the Sikh kingdom. For some years when Ranjit Singh's old prime minister Dhyān Singh still was in office, the crisis was delayed. But when in A.D. 1843 that latter was assassinated, together with mahārājā Shēr Singh, things quickly came to a head. Mahārāja Dalip Singh's prime minister was Hira Singh. The latter's chief adviser was a Pandit Jalla of Basohli who appointed a relative, Narāin Shāh (nick-named Lakkar Shāh) as Sikh agent in Chambā. Lakkar Shāh looted the country shamelessly, that he drove the humiliated officials to desperation. In

the meantime Charhat Singh died, and again a child, Śrī Singh (A.D. 1844-1870), became rājā. As all complaints were ignored by Pandit Jalla, Lakkar Shāh was kidnapped with the tacit consent of the queen-mother, carried into the mountains and tortured to death. Wazīr Bhāga then tried to placate Hīra Singh, claiming that the Chambā authorities had not been involved in the conspiracy. But Pandit Jalla had him and his two companions cast into prison and despatched two Sikh armies against Chambā. One, coming from Nūrpur, was held at bay by the garrison of Tārāgarh; but the other, advancing via Sandhāra, took Chambā town and forced the rānī to flee, with her child, up the Rāvi Valley. But in the meantime Hīra Singh was murdered by the party of Rānī Jindan, soon thereafter chaos reigned in Lahore, and in A.D. 1845 the Sikh army invaded British territory. In consequence, the Sikh troops left Chambā when things already looked most critical. When the Sikh kingdom was broken up, Chambā was first ceded to the British in A.D. 1846, but then made over to Gulāb Singh, as part of the new Jammū-Kashmīr State. Thereupon wazīr Bhāga immediately proceeded to Lahore, explaining that by Ranjīt Singh's order of A.D. 1821 Chambā had been given a status similar to that of Jammū, and that its non-participation in the recent war had placed it also in a similar position visavis the British. Sir Henry Lawrence thereon took Chambā under direct British protection, but indemnified Gulāb Singh by transferring Bhadravāh to Jammū.

Absorption into the Modern World: The later history of the state is no more of much interest. Śrī Singh was as unimportant as his father. When wazīr Bhāga Barotrū retired A.D. 1854, he was followed by his son Billū. But after the latter's death the administration degenerated and was at last in A.D. 1863-64 modernized by Major Blair Reid. On this occasion the old feudal system and the state army and garrisons disappeared. A.D. 1851-54 the hill station Dalhousie was laid out on former Chambā territory, A.D. 1866 the hill cantonment Bakloh. A.D. 1871-72 the old fortresses were demolished, and forced labour abolished. But under Śrī Singh and his successor Gopāl Singh (A.D. 1870-73) the old cultural life still flourished, though as a dull and rich court luxury. The Śakti Devī Temple at Chatrārhi, the Lakshmī-Nārayan Temple Gate, the Chāmunda and Sitalā Devī temples and the Khanchandī Palace in the capital were redecorated. Syām Singh (A.D. 1873-1904) and Bhūrī Singh (A.D. 1911-1919) were two reformers under whom modern education, research, medical, social and other improvements penetrated the state. Under Rām Singh (A.D. 1919-

1936) those reforms were further developed by the dewān. During the minority of the last rājā, Lachman Singh (A.D. 1936-48) the state was run by British administrators mainly interested in developing the communications, economic resources, hospitals, etc. A.D. 1947 the first motor-road was completed, connecting Chambā town with Dalhousie and Pathānkot. A.D. 1948 Chambā state at last disappeared, absorbed in Himāchal Pradesh.

Concluding Observations: Despoiled of the ancient glamour of Rājput romance, the history of Chambā since the Muslim conquest is that of the unification of innumerable diminutive and isolated feudal territories into one, interconnected and centrally administered state, to be subdued and at last absorbed by much vaster political units, the Panjāb and India. But this growth was the product of a long rivalry with several other similar states and state systems, and of the ideals and ideologies of several successive types of civilization, the Hindu revival inspired by a brāhmin oligarchy, the Rājput civilization developed in the Mughal empire and the impact of the modern world first under British control and now under an Indian national government. And it was achieved, promoted and impeded by individuals and social groups, their efficiency and vision learnt in a hard struggle for survival, and their degeneration in the easygoing security of possession. In so far the history of Chambā, though of only a local character, is an exceptionally complete epitome of the history of India over many centuries of which our knowledge still is very fragmentary.

Libraries and their management in Mughul India

BY

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"Of making many books there is no end and the beginning is lost in antiquity; and of collecting books into libraries the beginnings are very remote"—Sir Frederick Kenyon.¹

The Turk Rulers of India during the Sultanate period had no separate building for their libraries. The educational buildings—the mosques with their maqtabas and the khanqahs and the madrasas—were the places where the books were stocked and preserved. There is no mention of separate libraries in the period, though during the period following we come across accounts of a number of such buildings. The only library of which we read during the Sultanate period is that of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, which was situated in his khanqah in Delhi. The library was a public property and was open to all deserving, as it had been raised from public donations or waqfs.

A. IMPERIAL AND ROYAL LIBRARIES

The Mughul emperors who followed the sultans of Delhi were all well-read and accomplished, educated and highly cultured men. They possessed literary taste and were also great patrons of learning. They were real lovers of art and literature. They maintained a separate library in a portion of their residences and sometimes also public buildings for keeping their best choice books. It was their practice to support great public libraries, as also to maintain their personal ones.

1. Sir Frederick Kenyon: *Libraries and Museums*, p. 1.

Babur

To Babur, the first Mughul emperor, the greatest presentation one could make to anybody was a selection of some good and useful books. He valued such a present most. We read in the *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* that when he took possession of Milwat and reached the library of Ghazi Khan,² he took out some books from it and gave them to his eldest son Humayun as a gift and sent some others to his second son Kamran at Kabul.³ These were mostly theological books—books on religion and on Islam.

Babur was an author and a poet. He found solace in literary work and composed verses even in times of adversity. It is said that he forgot his sorrows and miseries when he was engrossed in poetry. Whenever he could snatch time, he busied himself in writing his autobiography. He had a personal library which he utilized to its best. It was in this library or study that he took rest whenever he was tired or found time to relax.⁴

According to Stanley Lane-Poole, "in his native Turki he (Babur) was a master of a pure and unaffected style, alike in prose and verse".⁵ Beveridge has gone to the extent of describing his *Tuzuk* as "one of those priceless records which are for all time, and fit to rank with the confessions of St. Augustine and Rousseau and the memoirs of Gibbon and Newton. In Asia it stands almost alone."⁶ That Babur was a good poet is evident from his *Diwan-i-Babur Padisha*,⁷ a selection of his verses.

It is stated on the authority of the *Tawarikh* of Sayyid Maqbar Ali, a minister of Babur, that the public works department was also entrusted with the work of building and repairing schools, colleges and seminaries. Most of these institutions had a library attached to each. Babur encouraged the establishment and expansion of many libraries.⁸

2. Babur: *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, Translated by Beveridge, Vol. II.

3. Babur: *Ibid.*

4. Babur: *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, Vols. I and II.

5. S. Lane-Poole: Babur (in *Rulers of India Series*), p. 10.

6. Beveridge in the *Calcutta Review*, 1897.

7. *Diwan-i-Babur Padishah*, Edited by E. Denison Ross in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1910.

8. N. N. Law: *Promotion of Learning*, etc.

Humayun

Humayun had a passion for study of geography, astronomy and astrology. He had a greater love for books and libraries than Babur even.⁹ His favourite subjects included poetry and literature. Very often Humayun held scholarly discussions in his private assemblies. Admiral Sidi Ali Rais, the well-known Turkish traveller, has made references to Humayun's scholarly discussions and love for books many a time in his account of travels. Sidi Ali Rais concludes: "There is much enthusiasm for poetry and poetical contests in these days and for this reason I had to remain in the King's presence"¹⁰ for many months.

The pleasure-house of Sher Shah in the Purana Qila was converted by Humayun into a library and it was as a result of his fall from the stairs of this library at Sher Mandal that the emperor received severe injuries and later succumbed to them.¹¹

Humayun had a large number of selected books in his personal library. Jauhar, his table-servant, tells us that the emperor took with him some choice and favourite books even to the battle-fields and on his expeditions to Bangal and Gujarat.¹² A selection from the personal library moved with the emperor. He also took this library with him during his exile and wanderings after his defeat at the hands of Sher Khan. During his Gujarat expedition when he was encamped at Cambay, some forest and hill tribes, we are told, made a night attack on his camp and in the confusion and plunder that ensued, according to Abul Fazl, "many rare books, which were his real companions and were always kept in His Majesty's personal possession, were lost."¹³ This anecdote is a fine example of Humayun's inordinate love for books and libraries. He aided the establishment of many libraries in the kingdom in spite of ill-luck and disturbed rule.

Akbar

Akbar's patronage of learning and the learned is proverbial. Though himself not a man of letters,¹⁴ Akbar equalled his ancestors in his literary taste. He was interested in the different

9. S. K. Banerji: Humayun Padshah, Vol. II.

10. Sidi Ali Rais: Safar Nama.

11. W. Haig: Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, p. 309.

12. Jauhar: Tazkirat-ul-Waqayat.

13. Abul Fazl: Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 309.

14. Sometime back there was a controversy whether Akbar was literate or an unlettered man. Proof is more against Akbar's literacy than in its favour. See S. M. Jaffar: Education in Moslem India.

branches of learning, like philosophy, theology, history, politics, etc., on the problems of which he could give his own opinions.¹⁵ He gathered round him a band of scholars and poets, historians and philosophers well-known as the Nine Jewels and maintained a big library containing books on various subjects.¹⁶ These books were read out to the emperor by different scholars and the emperor gained an excellent knowledge of these subjects. His intellectual level also rose greatly by taking part in the discussions held in the Ibadat Khana. Writes Dr. Vincent A. Smith, "Anybody who heard him arguing with acuteness and lucidity on a subject of debate would have credited him with wide literary knowledge and profound erudition and never would have suspected him of illiteracy".¹⁷ Badauni admits that Akbar had "by a peculiar acquisitiveness and a talent for selection, by no means common, had made his own all that can be seen and read in books".¹⁸ This compliment is from a dissatisfied writer. Jahangir writes that Akbar understood the beauty of both prose and poetry much better than anyone else.^{18a}

The active interest of the emperor in learning led him to the establishment of new libraries which were stocked with numerous valuable manuscript books. Akbar had inherited from his father quite a good personal library. He improved it and added to the number of books by acquisitions made during his expeditions to Gujarat, Jaunpur, Bangal, Bihar, Kashmir, and the Deccan. During the conquests of these parts and through his agents he collected a large set of unique and rare books. The rare *Diwan* of Humayun Shah the poet was one of them. Many more rare books were found out by the emperor and purchased for the imperial library.¹⁹

Akbar's fondness for books is manifest in his orders for the establishment of a translation department or bureau which translated Sanskrit epics and valuable Turki and Arabic books into Persian. This bureau prepared translations of numerous works on different subjects which were copied out in beautiful handwriting.

15. E. Maclagan: *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, pp. 205-6.

16. Maclagan: *Ibid.*

17. V. A. Smith: *Akbar the Great Mogul*.

18. Baduni: *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 263.

18a. Jahangir: *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I, p. 33.

19. Abul Fazl: *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, and *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, op. cit.

illustrated by the best painters of the realm and beautifully bound.²⁰ Calligraphy reached its acme of perfection. After a handy and attractive garb was given to these translations, they were placed in the big imperial library at Agra. Some of them were also placed in the personal library of the emperor. The Sanskrit books translated included the *Atharva Veda* and the *Ramayana* of Valmiki. The *Mahabharata* was translated by Badauni under the title of *Razmanama* and Faizi prepared a translation of *Lilavati*, a treatise on arithmetic. Some books in Turki and Arabic also were translated into Persian by the translation bureau. Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan translated Babur's *Tuzuk* from Turki into Persian.²¹

The royal library was situated in the big hall on the side of Shah Jahan's octagonal tower in the fort of Agra. It was a big library "to which probably no parallel then existed, or ever has existed in the world."²² It contained 24,000 beautifully bound manuscript books in October, 1605, when the emperor breathed his last.²³ All these books were valued at rupees 64½ lakhs (Rs. 64,63,731). The average valuation of each book was between £ 27/- and £ 30/- and the total value of the library in English money was between £ 6,46,373 and £ 7,37,159.²⁴ Among these 24,000 books of Akbar's library were included 4,300 choice manuscript books which had been transferred to it from the library of Shaikh Faizi on his death in 1595.²⁵ This enormous collection of 24,000 volumes was properly classified under sections and efficiently maintained by expert librarians.

Akbar was so fond of books that whenever a new book was added to his collection, he called it in and ordered some scholar to read it out to him. Abul Fazl tells us that the emperor himself marked the book at the proper place with the date as an indication to the extent up to which the book had been read on one particular night, and ordered to begin it next night from the place the book had been left.²⁶ Elliot and Dowson consider him to be a

20. Abul Fazl: *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vols. I and II, *op. cit.*

21. Abul Fazl: *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pp. 103-6.

22. V. A. Smith: *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 424.

23. Abul Fazl: *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 491 and V. A. Smith: *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 424.

24. V. A. Smith: *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 424.

25. Abul Fazl: *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 491.

26. Abul Fazl: *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 74, and p. 103.

fastidious critic of poetry who could improve upon verses of other poets.^{26a}

The emperor's court was full of masters of all the arts. He even apportioned salaries and pensions to these men of letters and admitted some top-ranking among them to his mansabdari system.

Salima Sultana

Besides the emperor himself, one of his queens Salima Sultana Begam was also a scholar, a poetess and a patron of the learned. Such was the daughter of Gulrukh Begam who was a sister of emperor Humayun. Jahangir in his *Tuzuk* has spoken highly of her ability and outstanding merits as a scholar. Salima Sultana Begam was fond of reading books and maintained a library of her own.²⁷

Gulbadan Begam

We do not have any recorded mention as to whether or not Gulbadan Begam, the daughter of Babur who wrote her *Humayun Nama* during the reign of Akbar, had a library. She was definitely interested in reading and writing, which means she must have had a library. Her *Humayun Nama* has been highly praised and it could not have been the work of an unlettered woman. However, the discrepancies and the errors in her history give rise to doubts that she did not possess any reference work to look into while compiling the book.²⁸

Jahangir

Jahangir has a very high reputation for his fine taste and literary accomplishments. His *Tuzuk* is a very clear proof of his extraordinary ability and love for reading and writing.²⁹ Besides the age-old imperial library, Jahangir also maintained a personal library. This library was always on the move along with the emperor, and went wherever the emperor happened to go. Jahangir

26a. Elliot and Dowson: History of India as told by its own historians. Vol. IV, p. 294.

27. Jahangir: *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Translated and Edited by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, *op. cit.*

28. Gulbadan Begam: *Humayun Nama*, Translated and Edited by Beveridge.

29. Jahangir: *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Translated and Edited by Rogers and Beveridge, *op. cit.*

used to read books as a relaxation and diversion as also for obtaining information and improving his knowledge. When Jahangir went to Gujarat, he took his personal library with him.³⁰ Like Babur, he also regarded books as the most valuable possession and most valued present one could make. He gave several books to the ulema of Gujarat as tokens of his regard and respect for them when they went to meet him. He writes in his *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* that on the second visit of the ulema to the emperor, he gave them robes of honour, travelling expenses, lands and one book to each of them from his royal library, and on the back of each book he wrote the date of his arrival in Gujarat and the date of the presentation of the book to that scholar.³¹

Jahangir had a very large personal library and therefore had to appoint a big staff to look after it under a Darogha of the library.

Khafi Khan in his history has recorded that in order to encourage learning and collection of books the emperor issued an order to utilize all the property of the people dying without making a will, for the repairs and building of madrasas, monasteries and seminaries which usually maintained a library.³² Most of the escheat money was spent for the propagation of learning among the people and for establishing libraries at the madrasas and other places of higher education.³³

Nur Jahan

Nur Jahan the queen of Jahangir was no less a lover of books than her royal husband. She maintained a personal library which she enriched from time to time by new purchases. Even before her marriage with the emperor she had a good collection of rare books. The Khudabux Oriental Library at Patna has a copy of the *Diwan* of Kamran which Nur Jahan had once purchased for three mohars. The empress was well-versed in Arabic and Persian literatures and was specially fond of Persian poetry.³⁴

30. Jahangir: *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. II, *op. cit.*

31. Jahangir: *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. II, *op. cit.*

32. N. N. Law: *Promotion of Learning*, etc. pp. 174-5. and F. E. Keay: *Ancient Indian Education*, p. 128.

33. Khafi Khan: *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. II.

34. Jahangir: *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. II, *op. cit.*

Shah Jahan

It should not be supposed that Shah Jahan gave up the patronage of learning, unlike his predecessors. He certainly continued to patronize the fine arts and literature and learning, though his personal taste was more towards constructing magnificent buildings than towards studies, music or painting. None the less, he spent the early hours of the night daily in his study room and read or listened to his choice books.³⁵ He encouraged learned men by giving them rewards and fixing stipends for their maintenance.³⁶

Dara Shukoh

Dara Shukoh, the eldest son of Shah Jahan, was one of the greatest scholars India has ever produced. Like Akbar, he was imbued with the liberal doctrines of Sufism and tried to unite the two communities of the country by mutual love, understanding and sympathy.³⁷ Under his patronage a number of books were written and translated. Prominent translations from Sanskrit into Persian were the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagwat Gita*, the *Yoga Vashishtha Ramayan* and others; the original works were the *Safinat-ul-Auliya*, a biography of Muslim saints, the *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, an account of Mian Mir, an Indian Saint, and the *Majma-ul-Bahrain*, an encyclopaedic book on the technical terms of Hindu Vedantism and Muslim Sufism; and some books on Sufism like the *Nadir-ul-Nukat*, the *Risalah-i-Haqqnama* and the *Hasanat-ul-Arifin*.³⁸

The famous administrator Sir William Sleeman musing over the grave of Dara Shukoh very aptly thought that had Dara survived and come to the throne of the Mughul emperors instead of Aurangzeb, the history of India and the history of Indian education and scholarship must have been far different from what it is today.³⁹

Mumtaz Mahal

Mumtaz Mahal the queen of Shah Jahan was educated and fond of books. The emperor's daughter Jahanara Begam was also educated and was a regular reader of the Quran.

35. J. N. Sarkar: *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb and Historical Essays*, p. 174.

36. N. N. Law: *Promotion of Learning*, p. 183.

37. K. R. Qanungo: *Dara Shukoh*, Vol. I.

38. N. N. Law: *Promotion of Learning*, pp. 184-6.

39. Sleeman: *Rambles and Recollections*, etc., Edited by Smith, pp. 511-3.

Aurangzeb

Aurangzeb was a widely-read emperor and an accurate scholar. He kept his love of books to his last day.⁴⁰ His voluminous correspondence with his sons and noblemen of the times proves his mastery of Persian and Arabic languages and literatures. He knew Turki also. Aurangzeb knew the Quran and the Hadis (Traditions) by heart and was a scholar of theology.⁴¹ He maintained a personal library and also added many books to the imperial library, mostly on theology and religion. He transferred the library of Mahmud Gawan from Bidar and amalgamated it with the imperial library. The emperor was mainly responsible for the great digest of Muslim Law made in India, entitled the *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri*.

Zebun Nisa

Zebun Nisa, the daughter of Aurangzeb, inherited her father's intelligence and love of books. She was specially fond of poetry and was a good student of Arabic and Persian. She collected a large library of her own which came to be her only companion to console her during her imprisonment for her complicity in the rebellion of Prince Akbar.⁴² From 1681 up to her death in May 1702 she spent her time engrossed in poetry in the Char Burji garden in the outskirts of Lahore where she was kept as a state prisoner by her father, the emperor.

The Later Mughuls

Bahadur Shah the successor of Aurangzeb was also well-educated and loved the society of the learned people. During the rule of Muhammad Shah, Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur built observatories at Jaipur, Ujjain, Mathura, Banaras and Delhi. The imperial library was well cared for and sometimes books were added to it. Though Nadir Shah took away with him a large number of the books of the Imperial library at Delhi, the later Mughul emperors continued to collect new books and thereby enrich and replenish it. Thus by the time of Shah Alam II the library of the Mughul emperors had again been extended to considerable proportions.⁴³

40. J. N. Sarkar: Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, p. 371.

41. Lane-Poole: Mediaeval India, p. 360.

42. Sarkar: Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, p. 252 and 302.

43. N. N. Law: Promotion of Learning, p. 198.

B. LIBRARIES OF NOBLEMEN AND INDIVIDUALS

The imperial library and the royal libraries were the source of inspiration and example to the noblemen, the courtiers, the wealthy and other people of the empire. The noblemen sometimes vied with one another in collecting books, enlarging their libraries and sometimes taking airs as patrons of learning. Whatever the reason may be, their activities were of considerable good to the progress and development of libraries and to learning. We can take notice of only a few of them.

Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan

Among the noblemen of Akbar's time the greatest patron of books and learning was Abdur Rahim who was the son of Bairam Khan the protector of Akbar's young days. Abdur Rahim was honoured by the emperor with the title of Khan Khanan in 1584. He excelled all his contemporaries as a patron of learning and was himself a man of letters—a poet, a writer and a scholar.⁴⁴ He maintained a first-class library. It was looked after with perfect care and was maintained at a great cost. The Khan Khanan employed highly trained scribes and calligraphers, painters and book-binders, gilders and cutters, who were masters of their art. They were busy in improving the look and the contents of the books and the management of the books in the library and were adding many more to it by copying them out for the nobleman. *Maasir-i-Rahimi* speaks highly of Abdur Rahim's librarian, Maulana Ibrahim Naqqash.⁴⁵ The Khan Khanan employed the best painters of the day to paint and decorate the books in his library. Muhammad Amin Khurasani, the inventor of the *abri* (shining) paper was employed by the Khan Khanan on a monthly salary of Rs. 400/- as a book-binder and gilder. Shaikh Brahmi of Bahraich who was a good poet of Hindi, and his son Shaikh Abdus Salam, were successively the Darogha-i-Kutub Khana or Librarians of this library. Besides these, there were numerous translators and moderators and the whole staff totalled about 95 persons.⁴⁶

The chief feature of the Khan Khanan's library was that most of the books were in the hands of their authors themselves. Some

44. Abdur Rahim was also a fine poet in Hindi and was a friend of the famous poet of Ramcharita-manasa, Goswami Tulsidas, *Ain.*, III.

45. Abdul Baqi: *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, Vol. III, p. 1686.

46. Abdul Baqi: *Ibid.*, Vol. III, *op. cit.*

of the authors had presented their books to that nobleman and received rewards in return.⁴⁷ Some such books were the *Diwan* of Naziri Nishapuri, the *Masnavi* of Muhatsin Kashi, the *Diwan* of Urfi Shirazi, the poems of Nuruddin Zahuri and the *Qasidas* of Muhammad Waqri Nishapuri.

Some of the books of the Khan Khanan's library are still to be seen in various libraries of India. The library of the nawab of Rampur and the library of the Raj Pramukh of Haidarabad have some books of that reputed old library. On the book *Tasawuf* by Abdulla Ansari, which was presented by the Khan Khanan to emperor Jahangir, there is the name and date of presentation in Jahangir's handwriting. Shah Jahan, too, wrote his name in the book when it passed on to his library. In the Kutub Khana Asafia at Haidarabad there was a book on explanations of dreams which was given by Akbar to the Khan Khanan. The Khudabux Oriental Library at Patna has some books of the Khan Khanan's library. A copy of the Quran is with the Royal Asiatic Society's library at Calcutta.

Munim Khan

Munim Khan was the governor of Jaunpur from 1568 onwards in the time of Akbar. He was fond of reading good books and had a personal library of choice books. A lover of books,⁴⁸ he tried to get hold of rare books wherever he could. Some of the books in his library were procured and sent to him by his friends and admirers. Munim Khan in return for these presents used to compensate the people with gifts of money and other such presents. The *Kulliat* of Shaikh Saadi was sent to him by Bahadur Khan and the nobleman rewarded him with Rs. 500/-. Munim Khan purchased many books from professional book-sellers when they took books to him. He had a rare copy of the *Diwan* of Kamran which was purchased at a high price.

Shaikh Faizi

Faizi, the brother of Abul Fazl, was noted for his learning. A scholar himself and a son and a brother of scholars, Faizi had collected a large number of rare and fine books. Most of these books were in the writings of their authors or copied in their lifetime under their guidance and authority. This added to the value of these books. All the books of Faizi's library were nicely bound

47. Abdul Baqi: *Ibid.*, Vol. III, *op. cit.*

48. Abul Fazl: *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, *op. cit.*

and well-kept and looked after.⁴⁹ The library included the works of Faizi himself, which, they say, numbered 101. The total number of books in his library was over 4,300 and all of them passed on to the imperial library on Faizi's death. The library contained books on diverse subjects like literature, medicine, astronomy, music, philosophy, the sciences, mathematics and jurisprudence.⁵⁰

Farid Bukhari

Shaikh Farid Bukhari was a favourite courtier of Jahangir⁵¹ and was the governor of Lahore and Ahmadabad for sometime. He maintained a library of valuable books and enriched it by adding new volumes from time to time. Some of the books of Farid's library are seen in some old libraries of India. A conspicuous example is the *Diwan* of Hasan Dehlavi, which is now in the Khudabux Oriental Library at Patna.

C. LIBRARIES OF PROVINCIAL KINGDOMS

Besides the emperor many of the independent rulers of the Mughul times also had their personal libraries and encouraged the establishment of many public libraries.

Gujarat

Before Gujarat was conquered by Akbar, there was a good library of the independent rulers of that kingdom. Sultan Ahmad Shah I patronized learning, started many madrasas, and established a royal library. Sultan Muhammad Shah gave away some books from the royal library to some of the madrasas of the kingdom. When Akbar conquered Gujarat, he distributed some books of the Gujarat sultan's library among his courtiers.⁵² Abdul Qadir Badauni and Abul Fazl were among the lucky recipients of the spoils of the Gujarat library.

Bidar

The college built by Mahmud Gawan at Bidar in the reign of Muhammad Shah Bahmani is said to have possessed a library containing over 3,000 books on different subjects.⁵³ During

49. Abul Fazl: *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, *op. cit.*

50. Badauni: *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 305.

51. Jahangir: *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vols. I and III, *op. cit.*

52. Badauni: *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 202.

53. N. N. Law: *Promotion of Learning*, p. 99 and 113. Key: Ancient Indian Education, p. 119.

Aurangzeb's time this library was transferred to Delhi and amalgamated with the imperial library.

Jaunpur

During its brief life of about eighty years, the Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpur reached the greatest height of civilization and culture, so much so that in the first quarter of the sixteenth century it came to be called the "Shiraz of India".⁵⁴ The Sharqi rulers were scholars themselves and respected the scholars at their court. Sometimes some of them paid visits to these scholars at their homes. The library of Maulvi Maashuq Ali was well-known in the kingdom in Mughul days and contained over 5,000 books. The library of the Mufti was also a big one. Under the Mughul emperors the city of Jaunpur retained its title and its libraries attracted many scholars of the country from far and near.⁵⁵ It was at Jaunpur where Sher Shah was educated.

Khandesh

The Faruqi Sultanate of Khandesh came to an end at the hands of Akbar. The sultans of Khandesh had a fine library. Hindu Beg Farishta mentions in his history that he visited this library and from one of the books here he obtained a full history of the Faruqi rulers.⁵⁶ The library had a precious and rare copy of the *Tughluq Nama*. Before the annexation of Khandesh, Faizi had requested Raja Ali Khan to supply him with a copy of some pages of this rare book. The letter of Faizi is said to be preserved in the British Museum till this day.

Bijapur

Of the five new Sultanates that sprung up after the fall of the Bahmani kingdom, Adilshahi kingdom of Bijapur was the most prominent. The Adilshahi sultans were very keenly interested in letters, as they were in politics and the arms. Fatehullah Shirazi, Qasim Farishta and other scholars of the age adorned their courts. The sultans also maintained large personal library which passed

⁵⁴ K. R. Qanungo: Sher Shah; S. K. Banerji: Humayun 'Padshah, 2 Vols.

⁵⁵ Abul Fazl: Akbar Nama, Vols. I and II, *op. cit.*

⁵⁶ Farishta: Tarikh-i-Farishta, Vol. II, p. 277.

on from ruler to ruler. In this large library there were about 60 employees who were engaged in calligraphy, copying, painting, binding and gilding the books prepared.

Bangal

In Bangal, nawab Murshid Quli Khan "possessed a very extensive learning and paid great respect to men who were eminent for their piety or erudition. He wrote with great elegance and was a remarkably fine penman".⁵⁷

Maharashtra

In Maharashtra, the Chhatrapatis and after them the Peshwas maintained their personal libraries and many of them who were interested in learning tried to procure old manuscripts or their copies for their personal libraries and also for the public libraries.⁵⁸

Like the Mughul emperors at Agra in the beginning and at Delhi after the capital was transferred by Aurangzeb, the different independent rulers encouraged learning in their dominions by maintaining their own libraries and encouraging their courtiers by setting examples in learning and its patronage by the wealthy.

D. LIBRARY MANAGEMENT

During the Mughul age there was a special department of the government to look after the libraries and many people were employed in this governmental department.

The Nazim

The highest official of the Library was the Nazim or Mutamad who was the general manager of the library.⁵⁹ He was in charge of the income and the expenditure of the library, as also the appointment and dismissal of the staff of the library. He was responsible to the emperor for everything regarding the Library. The Nazim was invariably a high dignitary or nobleman at the court. Akbar's Nazims were Mulla Pir Muhammad and Shaikh Faizi in succession, while Maktub Khan was Jahangir's Nazim.

57. Stewart: History of Bengal, p. 408.

58. S. N. Sen: Administrative System of the Marathas, p. 477.

59. Muhammad Sadiq: Shah Jahan Nama, Vol. II, p. 505.

The Darogha

The Darogha was the next official of the library.⁶⁰ He looked after the internal management of the library under the supervision of the Nazim. The Darogha-i-Kutubkhana was a man of letters, a well-read and highly accomplished man, acquainted with both the sciences and the arts. He was usually a master-mind so far as learning was concerned.⁶¹ He performed his stupendous task with the help of many assistants. With their assistance he had to purchase, arrange and classify the books according to their subjects. The clerks under him maintained registers for separate subjects up to date. Each clerk was in charge of his own section and subject.⁶²

Library Building

Each library of the Mughul age had a spacious and big building of its own. The floor of the library building was kept spotlessly clean and free from dust. Proper care was taken that the building was also free from damp and moisture as a precaution that the leaves of the books, which were almost always manuscripts, may not stick to each other due to the moisture and humidity of the air and atmosphere. The engineers and architects were also to make proper provisions for light and air in order to keep the building airy and bright. The library buildings of Humayun and Akbar bear testimony to their spaciousness and cleanliness as also sufficiency of light and air in every portion of the building.⁶³

Classification

"Books in a library", writes Dr. S. R. Ranganathan, "can be used to the maximum possible extent only if they are arranged on the shelves in a classified order according to their subject matter".⁶⁴ The Mughul librarians were fully conscious of the fact that proper classification is an essential part of library management. Smaller libraries were classified into the arts and the sciences, while the bigger ones were further sub-classified accord-

60. Muhammad Sadiq: Shah Jahan Nama, Vol. II, *op. cit.*

61. Abdul Baqi: Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol. III, p. 1686.

62. Abdul Baqi: *Ibid.*

63. Abul Fazl: Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, *op. cit.*

64. S. R. Ranganathan: Suggestions for Organization of Libraries, p. 47.

ing to their subject-matter. Akbar's library and that of Shaikh Faizi were classified into the following sections⁶⁵ according to their subject matter:—

- (i) Astrology
- (ii) Astronomy
- (iii) Commentaries
- (iv) Geometry
- (v) Law
- (vi) Medicine
- (vii) Music
- (viii) Philology
- (ix) Philosophy
- (x) Poetry
- (xi) Sufism
- (xii) Theology
- (xiii) Traditions.

Like the librarians of our times, the Mughul librarians also kept rare and scarce books separately from the common books.

Maintenance

Books in the libraries were kept in trunks and in almirahs in their serial numbers. Special attendants and experts were employed to clean and dust them periodically and to see that they were not soiled by weather, or eaten away by the worms or spoiled in any other way.⁶⁶ These experts removed the dust off the books and turned every page of the book during their inspection. So thorough was their work.

Other Staff

Big libraries had their own book binders and gilders, as the books were not allowed to go out of the building.⁶⁷ A number of painters were attached to almost every big library whose work it was to illustrate the books and beautify them. Highly skilled calligraphers were in regular employment of libraries to copy out rare manuscripts in beautiful handwriting.⁶⁸ Copyists copied

65. N. N. Law: *Promotion of Learning*, p. 132 and 151.

66. Abdul Baqi: *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, Vol. III, p. 1680.

67. Abul Fazl: *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, *op. cit.*

68. Abul Fazl: *Ibid.*

books at a great speed which were later on transcribed by expert calligraphers. After a new manuscript was copied and written out by the calligraphers in beautiful hand, it was sent to the Muqabila Navis who compared it with the original and corrected the slips and mistakes if any. The chief Muqabila Navis was a man of wide learning and was a highly paid official. He was expected to complete the missing portions, fill in the gaps, and sometimes even correct the original if it happened to be wrong.⁶⁹ Thus he was expected to be a man of encyclopaedic learning and knowledge. The last process in the book-production business was its illumination and illustration by expert painters.

The library in the Mughul age was a highly specialized and developed governmental department of the Mughul administrative machinery.

Libraries were kept separate from the Public Records Office. The State records were kept in the Public Records Office which was a part of the diwan's department.⁷⁰ All reports of the news-writers coming from different provinces were stored and preserved in the Records Office which can be easily compared to the present National Archives of India at New Delhi.

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69. Abdul Baqi: *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, Vol. III, p. 1696.

70. Sri Ram Sharma: *Mughal Government and Administration*, p. 41.

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Mahadji Scindia's Bilingual Order A.D. 1792

BY

* B. W. BHAT,

Hon. Secretary, Rajwade S. Mandal, Dhulia.

Two young men escaped from the carnage that followed the defeat of the Marathas on the fateful battle field of Panipat in A.D. 1761. One of them was a Maratha belonging to the Sardar family of Gwalior, who later on became famous as Mahadji Scindia alias Patilbowa. The other was a Brahmin belonging to the Fadnis family named Balaji Janardan Bhanu in the service of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa. Mahadji became lame and was brought to the south by a Bhisti on his bullock. Mahadji Scindia became the pillar of the Maratha rule in the north of India by his valour and political sagacity. Balaji Janardan subsequently became famous as Nana Fadnis, a politician and proved a pillar of the Maratha rule in the south.

In the battle of Panipat, the brave and valourous members of the Scindia family died leaving behind no male member except Mahadji Scindia, who was the son of a keep of Ranoji Scindia, the commander and lieutenant of Bajirao the first and founder of the Scindia family. Madhaorao first chose Mahadji Scindia and conferred upon him the Sardarship of Gwalior. He appointed Madhao Gangadhar as the Diwan of Mahadji Scindia and in his early career he proved of great help, in administering the territory in the north of India which was in the possession of the Scindia family of Gwalior. The expectations of Madhaorao the first were fully justified in recognising Mahadji's claims to the Sardarship of Scindia family. Gradually Mahadji Scindia acquired great power and influence to such an extent that Mahommadshah, Emperor of Delhi appointed him as his Wakil-al-mutlik and handed over to him the administration of all the territories in the north, which were in his possession and the capital city of Delhi, which remained in

* A melancholy interest attaches to this article. The author passed away before it was sent to the press.

Mahadji's possession till 1800 A.D. in which year it was taken by the English from Daulatrao Scindia the adopted son of Mahadji.

After the appointment of Mahadji Scindia as Wakil-al-mutlik by Mahommadshah the subjects of the territories of the Moghul Empire began to approach Mahadji Scindia for the redress of their grievances and for getting justice. A Kabir Panthi Mahomedan family of Panipat, Subha Shahajanabad was given a Rojina allowance by the former Emperors of Delhi. This amount was reduced by an officer, of the Moghul Government. Mahadji Scindia inquired through his officers the previous record of this Rojina allowance and seeing that the amount was unjustly reduced restored the previous grant. After this enquiry he issued an order to the Kamvisdar of the Panipat Pargana to pay to the family the original amount granted to it. This order is written on a paper which was then used in Government offices. It is 9" in breadth and 3' in length. At the top of the document is the seal of Mahadji Scindia as Wakil-al-mutlik of Emperor Mahommadshah along with the honourific title conferred upon him by the Emperor. The seal is in Persian language and script and is about 2½" in diameter. The opening part of the document is in Persian language and Persian script while the subsequent part of the document is in Marathi language and Modi script. A free English translation of this document is given below.

"SEAL"

Order issued to present and future Kamvisdars of Pargana Panipat, Subha Shahajanabad. Mahomedan era-year Isane Tisen Maya and Alafu (i.e. 23-3-1792 A.D.) Musmat Latifa Bairaokhn Mahamad progeny of Jalaluddin Kabir Awalia (saint) have been receiving from olden times Rojina of one rupee and ten annas. Narayandas servant of Safikhan deducted twelve annas out of this sum and ordered to pay the remaining fourteen annas. According to that order they have been getting this amount from Government. But as twelve annas have been deducted it is prayed that a new sanad ordering the payment of the amount as before be kindly given to them. On looking into the Ferist (register) it is seen that although the amount as stated above was being paid from olden times, Narayandas deducted this amount (without any cause). For this reason it is ordered that original amount be paid as follows:

Rojina of one year (8 months to be taken as one year)

As.		As.	
2	Latifa	1	Ajani
$\frac{1}{2}$	Fatma	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Rabiya
1	Dalo	1	Ladbibee
1	Guhamini	1	Jabta
1	Arni	1	Saidbibee
1	Khan Mahamad		
<hr/>		<hr/>	
$6\frac{1}{2}$		$5\frac{1}{2}$	

12 annas.

In all twelve annas be paid as Rojina according to this sanad out of the income of the said Pargana from the current year. Therefore taking into consideration the past practice Batta calculated on Rs. 1-10-0 per hundred be deducted and the remaining amount of Rojina be given. Every year no demand for a fresh order should be made. A copy of this sanad should be kept by you and the original should be returned to the grantee.

Be this known to you. Chha 29 Rajab i.e., 23-3-1792 A.D. This order to be obeyed.

I proceed to discuss some important points about this order. There is a controversy amongst historical researchers as to whether territory including Atak and Lahore was under Maratha rule. This document is a complete and satisfactory answer to those researchers, who hold the opinion that territory upto Atak and Lahore never formed part of the Maratha empire. It is likely that documents of a similar nature may hereafter be found in the archives of the Indian States in the Punjab Province which have recently merged in the Bharat State.

The diameter of the circular seal of Mahadji Scindia is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Such a big seal had to be adopted as it contains a good many honourific titles conferred on Mahadji Scindia by Mohomad Shah, Emperor.

The writing on the seal in Persian reads as follows:

Wakil-al-Mutlik Ameerool Umra Mukhtyar Mulk Madamt Maham-ut Saltanat, Umadlut Arakeen-ul-Khilafat Sardaml-Ekat-dar yare-Wafadar, Sipah-salar Sadatmahd Farjand-khasut Khal Pandit Pradhan Maharajadhiraj Sawai Madhavrao Narayan Bahadur Fidavi Shah Alam Badshah Gazi.

A good many high sounding titles given to Mahadji Scindia and in his capacity as Wakil-al-Mutlik and the title of general of the army are mentioned in the Persian language. Mahadaji Scindia is described as the servant of Savai Madhavrao Peshwa, who is also described as the servant of the Emperor. The point to be noted in this connection is that the Peshwas of Shahu Chhatrapati never regarded themselves as the servants of the Delhi Emperor. Mahadji Scindia did not object to this. In addition to the above high sounding titles conferred upon Mahadji Scindia, the Emperor gave him Nalkhi Palkhi and Mahe Maratab rare gifts, given to nobles who rendered distinguished services to them. When Mahadji Scindia at the fag end of his life went to Poona along with these gifts with a view to present them to Savai Madhavrao Peshwa, Nana Fadnavis and other politicians as well as Savai Madhavrao Peshwa declined to accept them as the Peshwas never regarded themselves as the servants of the Delhi Emperor. The gifts were returned to Mahadji who was asked to treat them as gifts given to him, personally.

The seal of Mahadji Scindia made on several historical documents in Marathi, found so far, contains the simple words "Jyoti Swarup Charni tatpar "Ranjoti Sut Mahadji Sinde Nirantar" i.e. Mahadji son of Ranoji. The Persian seal seems to have been adopted by Mahadji as being attractive to the people of the north of India, who had become familiar with the language and etiquette of the Moghul Emperors.

Another point to be noted in connection with this document is its bilingual character. One part of it is in Persian script and Persian language and another part of it is in Marathi language and Modi Script. From a large number of original historical documents found in different parts of India it is seen that for all Government documents be they Mohomedan, Maratha or English, this practice was generally followed.

Before concluding I acknowledge with thanks the kindness shown to me by Prof. Gundasing in allowing to take a photo of the order and to write a short note thereon.

Lord Cornwallis and the Press

BY

K. SAJAN LAL, M.A.

In this paper we shall narrate how Lord Cornwallis came into clash with the Press in India.

William Duane, a native of North America of Irish parentage, had arrived in Bengal in 1787 as a private in the service of the East India Company. By trade he was a printer. It was in 1791 he became the editor of the Bengal Journal.

Lord Cornwallis was engaged in the Maratha War and it so happened that the absence of his despatches set up ugly rumours and one such said that Cornwallis was dead. It was very foolish on the part of Duane to publish such a rumour and more so to attribute it to Co. 1 De Canaple the French Commander. It was but natural that the Col. got wild with such a piece of news. Therefore he demanded a deterrent punishment for the writer of such a piece of rascality from the Government of Bengal.

Lord Cornwallis had his hands full with pressing matters of the state. He did not like to be involved in one more—rather a nasty one, unnecessarily in a friction with the French. He consulted his law officers on the validity of deporting Duane. On being satisfied with their opinion, he ordered Duane's arrest and deportation.

Margarita Barns says that "Duane filed an application in the Supreme Court for a writ of Habeas Corpus which was in effect granted though the Supreme Court unanimously recognised the right of deportation asserted by the Government."¹

We shall now give a detailed account of the Supreme Court's proceedings, wherein was filed the petition of Habeas Corpus on behalf of Duane.

It was on the orders of Lord Cornwallis in Council, that the Lt. Cosmo Gordon, Officiating Town Major of the Garrison of Fort

1. Margarita Barns, *The Indian Press*, p. 64.
J. 10

William arrested him on 1st June 1791 and kept him in confinement. Duane was given the choice to be at liberty till the time of his departure provided he gives a security of Rs. 10,000/- as well as two sureties, of course, approved by the Governor-General for Rs. 5,000/- each. But where could Duane, provide such a large sum of money and on his failure to do so, he was kept in confinement from 1st June to 16th June when he was produced before the Court.²

His Counsels Ledlie, Strethell and Shaw pleaded his case but in vain. The Government Counsels answered their contentions. The Judge C. J. Chambers and Sir Hyde East gave their verdict against Duane.

Now let us proceed with Duane to the Court and watch the proceedings.

It was Mr. Burroughs who moved that Mr. Gordon's return to a writ of Habeas Corpus might be filed.

The writ set out was directed to the defendent, a Lt. in the military service of the East India Company commanding him to have the body of William Duane detained in his custody with the cause of his caption and detention, before Sir W. Jones, or any other Judge of the Supreme Court, immediately, and was attested by Sir R. Chambers at Fort William on the 15th June.³

"Return—I, James Cosmo Gordon, Esqr., a Lieutenant in the Military service of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, do hereby most humbly certify and return to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of jurisdiction at Fort William in Bengal, that William Duane, in the writ hereunto annexed mentioned, was on the 1st day of June instant, a British subject, residing and trafficking, and trading, in Calcutta, at Fort William aforesaid, in Bengal aforesaid, and was not then nor at any time since, nor is now, in the service of His Majesty, King George III, or of the Honourable Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, nor in any manner licenced by the said United Co. or by the Governor-General in Calcutta for the affairs of the said United Co. at the Presidency of Fort

2. Morley's Digest, Vol. II, pp. 223-224.

3. Ibid., and Note: Sir Robert Chambers was the Chief Justice from 1791—to 1st August 1799, Sir Edward Hyde, later became the Chief Justice in 1813,

William in Bengal, and was not on the said 1st day of June instant, or at any time since, or is now, in any manner legally authorised to be or remain in the East Indies. That on the said 1st day of June instant the said Governor-General in Calcutta, in Council assembled, did resolve and order that the said W. Duane, as being a British subject, and not being in any manner legally authorised or licensed to be or remain, or to traffic or trade, in the East Indies, should be forthwith seized and sent to Europe in the first of the ships of the United Company that may proceed to England in the ensuing season, and that he should be restrained and kept in confinement under custody of the Town Major, until the departure of such ships, unless he shall enter into security, himself in the sum of Rs. 10,000/- and by two sureties (approved by the Governor-General) in the sum of Rs. 5,000/- each, and that he will be forthcoming on the day fixed for the departure of such ships packet from Calcutta, and then surrender him to the acting Town Major, that such orders might then be given for his proceeding to England as the said Governor-General in Calcutta should judge proper, and further, that directions should be given to the acting Town Major conformable to such resolution."

Proceeding further J. C. Gordon, Acting Town Major, says: "I the said Town Major of and for garrison of Fort William aforesaid, did as it was lawful for me to do, on the said first day of June instant arrest and take the body of the said W. Duane, and him, the said W. Duane, do still detain and keep in my possession, as in the execution of my office of an acting Town Major, as aforesaid, and by virtue of and in obedience to the said order of the said Governor-General-in-Council to me, so aforesaid given, it is lawful for me to do so. Dated the 16th day of June, in the year 1791" (Sd. J. C. Gordon).

Thus we find Duane in jail from 1st June to 16th June.⁴

Gordon presenting Duane to the Court said: "And this is the cause of the Caption and detention of the said W. Duane, whose body I have ready before the justices of the said Supreme Court on the day and at the place of the writ hereunto annexed, as by the said writ I commanded." (Signed J. C. Gordon, Acting Town Major).

This return was read and filed.

4. Ibid., p. 225.

On behalf of Duane one of his counsels Ledlie moved that Duane be discharged on account of the insufficiency of the said return and of the cause assigned for his detention.

Then Ledlie together with other counsels Strettell and Shaw urged that the British subjects in India are entitled to all the benefits and privileges of the laws of England and quoted Magna Carta, *nullus liber homo capiatur etc.*^{4a}

They raised objection to the return on the following points.⁵

1. That it did not appear from it that there was any warrant under hand and seal.

2. That it had not a proper conclusion in support of which they cited instances from the Court of Common pleas.

3. The warrant or order was not set forth as it ought to be, that the cause of detention might fully appear, for if, in the return, no sufficient cause appear, he might be set at liberty.

4. That the Commitments might have been to the common jail and directed to the Sheriff.

5. Shaw insisted that if the seizure and detention of W. Duane were to be justified by any statute, by any extraordinary or special power of the East India Company, or to their Government or Agents, such statute ought to have been cited in the return, or atleast so clearly referred to that no doubt could remain about the authority under which the act was professed to be done.

The Government counsels A. G. Davies and Burroughs defended the action of the Government. They said that "without any violation of Magna Carta, or the hereditary rights of Englishmen, the King and Parliament have prohibited all the British subjects from trading to or residing in the East Indies, unless by licence of the East India Company, and have empowered the Company, and certain Governors of their settlements and other agents to arrest and send to England all such British subjects as should be found in Indies residing without such licence."

They then replied to the various objections raised by Duane's counsels. As to the first objection, viz. that it did not appear that there was a warrant under hand and seal. They argued that "none of the statutes from which the power is derived of seizing unlicensed

4a. *Nullus liber homo Capiatur vel imprisonatur* is Clause 40(1) of the Magna Carta which means that no freeman could be arrested and detained in prison without a trial.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 226.

persons and sending them to England require it to be done by warrant. They authorised the Company and their agents, specified in one of the latter Acts, to seize, or cause to be seized, such offenders but they do not prescribe the mode of such seizures."

In answer to the 2nd objection, that the warrant had not a proper conclusion, they contended that "this and the former objections were grounded on principles that relate to commitments by Magistrates in the ordinary course of Criminal justice, for the purpose of bringing offenders to trial; but that arrest was no such commitment, but done under the authority of the statutes, for the purpose of carrying the persons to England and when he should arrive there, he might be by statute 9th Geog. III C. 26 Sec. 7, be committed by a justice of the Peace to the next county jail."

For the third objection, it was urged, that the cause of seizing and detaining Mr. Duane was fully and clearly stated in the return, and so also was the substance of the order given for that purpose, but that it could not be necessarily set forth in the very words of the order. In support of it they cited a number of rulings.

Against their 4th objection, they contended, that "in the 5th Geo. I, when the power was first given, there was no common jail in Calcutta to which the offenders could be committed, nor any sheriff to whom the warrant could be directed." They argued that the Charter of the 12 Geog. I, was the first, that established courts of Justice in India, which were to proceed according to the laws of England, and was also first mentioned by name Sheriffs. The last act that contained any regulation of the power of seizing and sending to Europe persons unlawfully resident in India was the statute 26th Geog. III, C. 57, G. 35 which enacts that such power be enforced and put in execution, not only by the order and authority of the Governor-General-in-Council, at Calcutta, or of the President-in-Council at Fort St. George and Bombay respectively, but also by any Resident at any of the British settlements in the East Indies, or by the order and authority of the Company's council of Supra Cargoes^{5a} for the time being at Canton. They argued, that the same phrase was used with regard to the Supra Cargoes as to the Governor-General in Calcutta, and yet neither the Supra Cargoes nor Residents had any common jail to which they could commit; nor any Sheriff to whom they could direct an order or warrant.

^{5a}. For Supra-Cargoes, read Auber, "An Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company, p. 149.

They stated also, that it was certain that in Calcutta the Sheriff was not the proper officer of the Governor-General-in-Council, nor could the latter, as such, issue any warrant to the Sheriff.

They met the 5th objection by stating that "all the statutes relating to this subject are public Acts, which the judges are bound to take notice, although not referred to, or set out, that it was true that the statute 5th Geog. I, C. 21, and 7th Geog. I, C. 21, seem at first to be private Acts, but they were made public Acts by the statute 9th Geog. I, C. 26, S. 10 and that as well as all the subsequent Acts under this head, they were and are expressly public Acts."⁶

When arguments on both sides were concluded, then the Judges being all of opinion that Mr. Duane must be remanded, C. J. Chambers immediately pronounced the judgment of the Court to that effect.

We need not give the details of the judgment where in the learned judge cited various statutes and explained the words: "by the order and authority of" at great length.

It must be remembered that the proceedings in this case were under the provisions of the earlier statutes. But by the 3rd and 4th Will. IV C. 85, S. 81, it was provided "that it shall be lawful for any natural born subjects of His Majesty to proceed by sea to any port and etc., and to reside thereat, or to proceed to and reside in or pass through any part of such of the territories as were under the Government of the said Company on the 1st January 1800, and in any part of the countries ceded by the Nawab of the Carnatic, of the provinces of Cuttack, and of the settlements of Gungapur and Malacca, without any licence whatever; provided that all subjects of His Majesty, not natives of the said territories shall, on their arrival in any part of such territories, from any port or place, not within the said territories make known, in writing, their names, places etc., to the Chief Officer of the Customs."

Strangely enough, a few years after, William Duane got again into trouble with the authorities. The reader may now pick up the thread where we have left and follow Margarita Barns' excellent account of the future activities of Duane.⁷

6. Morley, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

7. Margarita Barns, pp. 64-66.

St. Xavier and the Badagas

BY

T. K. JOSEPH, TRAVANCORE

The article by Rev. Fr. Mattom, of Travancore, in this J. I. H. for April 1953 (pages 75-79) on St Francis Xavier and the Badaga invasion of 1544, says that in that year, shortly after "the beginning of July" (p. 77) (1) "Vithala, the cousin of Ramaray the Regent" (p. 76) of Vijayanagar, accompanied by (2) the Pandyan king "Visuananda," (3) the Madura Naik, (4) his son Krishnappa, and (5) Chinna Timma, Vithala's brother (p. 77) entered Travancore through the Aramboly Pass, or another pass near it (p. 77), and invaded that territory up to about Kottar in Travancore of that year, ruled by Vira Kerala Varma *alias* Unni Kerala Tiruvadi. He is "Iniquitriberim" mentioned in a letter of 1533 from Joao da Cruz, the Calicut Nayar convert of 1513, and in another of 1547 from Moniz Barreto, the Portuguese Captain of Kayalpatnam south of Tuticorin on the east coast, and also in several letters of March 1544 to April 1545 from St. Xavier.

This Iniquitriberim appears as Unyque Trebery in the above Calicut Malayali's letter of 1533, and as Nyquee Trauadim in Captain Moniz's letter of 1547, *supra*. These three forms are Portuguese corruptions of Unikkēla Tiruvaṭi, the shortened form of Unni Kēraḷa Tiruvaṭi, the Malayalam name. Tiruvaṭi appears in Portuguese records of 1519 to 1547 as treveri, trebery, treberery, trauadim, triutrim, etc.

Now, Rev. Fr. G. Schurhammer, S. J., of Rome, the great authority on St. Xavier says in J. B. H. S., the Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, III, 1930, pp. 35-36, about the above Badaga (Vijayanagar Telugus') invasion of 1544 (after their first invasion of about 1534, and before their third one of 1547) as follows: —

"The second expedition of 1544 under Sadasiva against the Pandya Vettumperūmāl and in favour of the Tiruvaṭi. The general Viṭṭhala Rāmarāja is sent to the south with his Badaga troops and with him his brother Chinna Timma, the contemporaneous Bālabhāgavatam expressly states that his patron Chinna Timma restored to the Tiruvaṭi his lost territory, and defeated the

Pandya sovereign, who had fought against the Tiruvadi, and that he was therefore called "Tiruvadi Rājyasthāpanācharya" (*Restorer of the kingdom of Tiruvadi*).

Fr. Schurhammer adds also this footnote (p. 35): "The descriptions of this second expedition are rather confuse, the letters of St. Francis Xavier, the chief source, having been misunderstood. The Badagas are wrongly said to fight against Iniquitriberim, and Betermemal is mixed up with Vitthala Ramaraja" (of Vijayana-gar). Betermemal is the Pandya Vettumperumāl King of Kayattar (ibid., p. 34) in Koilpatti Taluka, Tinnevely, whom the above article in J.I.H., p. 76, wrongly calls "Visuananda". No Pandyan king of the Tenkasi or Kayattar kingdom of Tinnevely in St. Xavier's days in South India (1542-46) is known as "Visuananda."

About Betermemal Fr. Schurhammer says on pp. 27-28 of J.B.H.S. *supra*, thus: "*Beteperumal* is not Viṭṭhala,..... and Xavier never calls him captain, but only king. *Beteperumal* is the Pāṇḍyan King of Kayattār, *Vettum Perumal Raja*"

On p. 78 of J.I.H. *supra* there is mention of Iniquitriberim's "proclamation commanding his subjects throughout his kingdom to give the title" (*Valiya Pātiri*, Senior, or Great Padre) "to the Father in future and also to obey him as if he were the person of the king himself," who had the title *Valiya Tampurān*. It means the senior-most or great prince. He was therefore the ruling king of "Travancore" of those days. A Portuguese document of 1519 mentions "the Great King of Quilon." Correa (1512 to ca. 1563) speaks of the Great King of Cape Comorin in 1518 and 1543. Great King was therefore a general term like the ruling king or the senior prince.

In 1545 Joao Vaz, who had stayed with St. Xavier on the Fishery Coast in 1544 for six months, said that "Xavier there found grace with "one king" (Iniquitriberim) so far that the latter published a proclamation "throughout his whole kingdom," that all should obey "his brother, the Balea Padre," as himself, and that all his subjects who wanted to become Christians could do so; and that the king gave the Father also a great sum of money," ... This is the sum of 2000 fanams (for building churches for his new converts), which the Padre received as a reward from the king for his efforts as mediator in "the negotiations between Xavier, the Portuguese, and Iniquitriberim" who needed Portuguese aid.

In Fr. Schurhammer's reply of 21st March 1928 from Germany to my enquiry of 7th February that year (as Secretary of the History, Archaeology and Numismatics Section of the Kerala Society), he said: "The text of the proclamation, if it is not in the Travancore archives, is lost. It never appears in any publication or manuscript dealing with St. Francis Xavier. In the Portuguese archives no olas are left." See Kerala Society Papers, Series 1, 1928, p. 49.

Of the Badaga persecutions (not invasions) Mansilha's, Xavier's companion, making conversions at Punnaikkāyal, and other places on the S.E. coast says: "Once there came to the kingdom of Travancore certain Badagas, pagan people from the kingdom of Bisnaga, to rob, for they were robbers, and tyrannize the Christians, and to kill them. As soon as Fr. Master Francisco (Xavier) heard of it he went to the said kingdom of Travancore, where these robbers, Badagas, were to defend the Christians." Vide *Monumenta Xaveriana*, Matriti, 1900, p. 19. Xavier's letters furnish particular instances of Badaga persecution in 1544. On or shortly before Saturday June 14 the Badagas made Christians of Cape Comorin prisoners, and they fled to the rocks in the sea, where they were dying of hunger and thirst. On August 1 he went from Manappad, north east of Comorin, on foot to that Cape to visit and help the poor Christians who went to Manappad "fleeing and robbed by the Badagas." On or before Aug. 3 Xavier was warned by a Kanakkan (= Accountant) a friend of the Christians and a favourite of Iniquitriberim that the Badaga horsemen would come to the coast (the S.E. coast), and the Padre wrote to the king that "as he was a friend of the Governor, he should not suffer these Badagas doing us harm, as the Governor (at Goa) would take the evil that would be done to these Christians very ill." On or before August 19 Xavier got an *ola* (a letter on palm-leaf) from Guarim, Mansilha's friend, telling him how the Badagas robbed fugitive Christians. And finally by August 21 "the Badagas who were in the neighbourhood of Maṇappād had already gone to Cabecate" (correctly Calecate, Kaḷakkāṭu, in the interior). No miraculous retreat of even those Badaga persecutors is found mentioned in documents.

In 1544 "Travancore," i.e., the territory having the town "Travancore" (Tiruvāṅkōṭu, south of Trivandrum) as capital, extended southwards from at least Pūvār, north of the mouth of the Neyyar River, down to Comorin, and included south Tinnevely also, up to some place south of Tuticorin which then belonged to "Beteperumal," the Pandya.

The Portuguese and Dutch pronunciation of "Travancore" must have been Tra-vān-cō-rē (4 syllables), the first two syllables of the Malayalam name *Ti-ru-vān-cō-tu* having been coalesced into one. The two r's in Travancore represent two different sounds of Malayalam r and ṛ, the latter unknown in Portuguese and Dutch. The English, however, pronounced "Travancore" of Portuguese and Dutch records as Trā-van-cōr or even Trā-vañ-cō. Recently Malayalis transformed the English form into Tiruvitāṅkūr, *kūr* being a wrong substitute for English core (Mal. *kōṭu*). Vitāṅ in the present Malayalam form is found in the alternative old form Tiru-vitāṅ-kōṭu, older forms having instead *putāṅ*, *vutāṅ*, or *mutāṅ*. Putāṅ seems to be the correct form. Putāṅ-kōṭu means the new āṅkōṭu (= Siva's bull's corner or village). *Pu* of Vatteluttu records could also be read as *vu*, or carelessly as *mu*.

Reviews

THE SUCINDRAM TEMPLE: by Dr. K. K. Pillay with a foreword by J. H. Cousins (Kalakshetra Publications, Adyar, Madras-20 Rs. 35/-).

Local history is of more than ordinary interest. Particularly it is so in South India; and an indispensable key to it is the study of every important temple in the area. In fact it is impossible to form a clear idea of the art and culture of South India in the absence of unitary studies of the great temples in the land on the excellent model of those undertaken by the Archaeological Department in Java. This richly illustrated and attractively got up monograph which is the outcome of a thesis submitted by Dr. K. K. Pillay to the University of Madras is a detailed historical and descriptive study of the celebrated ancient temple at Sucindram (Agastisvaram Taluk, Trivandrum district, Travancore-Cochin), the "spiritual capital" of Nancinad and one of the remarkable masterpieces of South India architecture and sculpture. It is an objective account of the different aspects of the compact temple closely studded with numerous shrines constructed in the course of over ten centuries.

The author sets the geographical and political background for his work in the first two chapters. The large availability of granite gneiss in the area helped largely the growth of the temple; and the frequent political changes that the region passed through did not in any manner retard its progress. Though the numerous legends connected with the origin of the temple may not be helpful historically, there can be no denying the fact that the traditions embodied in them have been believed by myriads of people for centuries and they have influenced their religious attitude and conduct in no small measure (p. 110). From the time range of the inscriptions found in the temple, it appears that the temple had its beginning about the 7th century A.D. and it has grown to its present size in the course of about ten centuries. Though fresh additions and elaborate structures were made from time to time "the unity of the entire edifice, as it stands at present is amazing for one feels as if the whole temple was constructed according to some preconceived plan." Sucindram was a *brahmadeya* and the *māhāsabhā* of the place exercised much control over the affairs of the village in general and the temple in particular though the management of

the daily affairs of the temple as well as its finances fell to the lot of a smaller body called the *mūlaparuḍai sabhā*. But with the decline of the latter the *yōgakkār* or the *ūrāṇmaikkār* took its place and wielded much power between the 14th and 19th centuries. However their growing power was more and more checked and controlled by the government until at last the Devasvam Department came to be established.

Dr. Pillay gives in two chapters a full account of the different functionaries in the temple and the *pūjas* and festivals celebrated in it. In another chapter entitled "Temple and Society" the author traces the history of the administration of the temple by the *sabha* and the *mūlaparundai*. During the period of the *yōgakkārs* the temple was a *sanketam* exercising unlimited supreme power, maintaining criminal and civil jurisdiction over the place and preventing any kind of pollution to it. Its other functions were similar to those exercised by the temples in the Tamil country. The author's account of the origin, enrolment and functions of the *devadāsīs* is informative. The role of the temple in the economic and social life of the village is also dealt with in detail. The ordeal of *kaimūkkū* (dipping the hand in boiling ghee) which was in vogue among the Nambudris from the 12th century till its abolition in 1834 is described in another chapter. In the subsequent chapters, the architectural features of the temple as also the sculptures, iconographic items and paintings in it are dealt with. The architecture of the different structures in the temple is illustrative of the main architectural features current in South India in the various epochs. The bas-reliefs on the facades of the *Campakarāman maṇḍapa* depict scenes from the *Purāṇas*, *Itihāsas* and other sacred lore. The panels illustrated in the book portray scenes from the life of Lord Krishna as narrated in the *Bhāgavata*. The inner walls of the seven storeyed tower present a continuous array of paintings of scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *sthalapurāṇa* of the place. The book ends with a number of appendices among which are some Malayalam palm leaf documents, a list of some 90 inscriptions from the temple, a glossary, and a select bibliography besides a good index. The value of the work is enhanced by the inclusion of five maps and plans and 38 well chosen plates.

The book is a notable contribution to our knowledge of temple lore and must stimulate similar studies on the great temples of South India which stand to this day as the sagas of our culture.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

SELECTIONS FROM THE NAGPUR RESIDENCY RECORDS:

Vol. III, (1812-1817) by H. N. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Nagpur, Government Printing, Madhya Pradesh, 1953. Pages xxx and 667. Price Rs. 16/- or sh. 27/-.

This is a collection of about 200 letters from the Nagpur Residency arranged under seven convenient heads, each bearing a separate series of numbers for the collection falling under it. The chief contents of the letters are conveniently summarised by the Editor in his Introduction of about twelve pages, and there is a chronological index to the letters following the introduction which makes for easy reference. There is also a summary indication of the contents of each letter preceding its text in the body of the book, and a serviceable Index at the end, so that the reader finds all the facilities required for his use of the book. The main heads are: Bhonsla's affairs (44 letters including seven on Sirgoojah), Nizam's affairs (10), Peshwa's affairs (48), Sindhia's affairs (35), Pindaris (52 rather short ones)—it is not clear why the form Pindaries is preferred to Pindaris though Pindari is the form used for the singular and for the adjective, Miscellaneous (12), and Trade and Commerce (3). There are sometimes several enclosures to a letter and these are often more important than the covering letter, and the editor has done well to draw the Reader's attention to this in every case.

There is no indication of the general plan of the series—of the number of volumes it is likely to comprise or of the probable time of their publication. The 'errata' at page 667 are far from making a complete list, and though the printing and format of the volume are good, the proofs deserve more careful handling than they seem to have received.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

PERSIAN RECORDS OF MARATHA HISTORY: I Delhi Affairs (1761-1788) News-letters from Parasnis collection, Translated into English with Notes by Jadunath Sarkar, Published by the Director of Archives, Government of Bombay, 1953. Pages X and 213. Price Rs. 2-8-0 or 4sh. 6d.

The veteran historian who translates and edits these Persian News-letters describes his work in the following succinct terms in his brief introduction: "I have in the present volume arranged and translated the Delhi letters (including only one from Calcutta,

which gives the reaction to the convention of Wadgaon), from 1756 to 1788 (down to the downfall of Ghulam Qadri Ruhela and the final assertion of Mahratha control at Delhi). There are many gaps in the surviving collection, some years are totally missing, and several despatches are mutilated, wanting one or more leaves.' Very rightly, if one may say so, Sri Jadunath refrains from writing an elaborate introduction to explain the complicated affairs of these changeful years and refers the curious reader to his monumental work on the *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. III in its second edition.

Dr. P. M. Joshi, the General Editor, however, contributes a succinct foreword which he concludes with a well-merited tribute to the memorable work of Sri. Jadunath Sarkar and Sri G. S. Sardesai on the history of the Mughals and Marathas. He also says that two more volumes of these News-letters will be issued 'as circumstances permit.'

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

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The Foundation of the Saiyad Dynasty—Khizr Khan, 1414-1421 A.D.

BY

DR. A. HALIM, M.A., PH.D.

*Professor and Head of the Department of History,
University of Dacca.*

During the reign of Sultān Firūz Shāh Tughlaq when the Delhi Empire was fast decaying, Malik Sulaiman, father of Khizr Khān, the founder of the Saiyad dynasty of the Delhi Sultāns began his early life in the household of Malik Mardān Daulat Khān, the Governor of Multān. Malik Sulaimān was adopted in his child-hood by Malik Mardān as his son.¹ After Malik Mardān's death, his son Malik Shaikh succeeded him, but after Malik Shaikh's death without an heir, Malik Sulaimān became the Governor of Multān. After Malik Sulaimān's death, his son Khizr Khān succeeded him and his appointment was confirmed by Sultān Firūz Shāh.²

Khizr Khān's ancestry.

Khizr Khān's claim to be a Saiyad is very doubtful. It does not rest on any family claim but on the guess of a holy man. The story repeated in every history is this, that one day, Malik Mardān had invited the celebrated mystic Saiyad Jalāluddīn Bukhārī³ to a dinner and when Malik Sulaimān was assisting the guests washing their hands before taking meal by pouring water from an ewer, the mystic refused to take service from a man whom he knew by intuition to be of Saiyad descent. According to Nizāmuddīn,⁴ this

1. 'Abdul Bāqī Nehāwāndī, *Massir-i Rahimī*, Bib Indica Series, 1, 403.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, Bib. Indica, p. 183.; Nizāmuddīn *Tabaqat-i-Akbarī*, I, 265.

3. Saiyad Jalāl Bukhārī also called Saiyad Jalāl the Red, is a disciple of Shaikh-ul-Islām Bahāduddīn Zakaria Qureshi Multānī. He is the grandfather of Shaikh Jalāl, entitled *Makhdum-i-Jahāniyan*. He came from Bukhara to Bakkar, and settled in that town before coming to Uchh. Vide 'Abdul Haq Haqqi Dehlavī's *Akhbār-ul-Akhiār* Muṭṭaba-i Press, Delhi, p. 60. His tomb is at Uchh.

4. *Tabqāt-i Akbarī*, I, 265; *Maāsir-i Rahimī*, I, 404.

guess has been confirmed by subsequent enquiries. A second argument, as weak as the first one, is this that Khizr Khān, was good natured, generous, patient, pious, clement and truthful. He could not but be a Saiyad, because, these are the excellences of Muhammad the Prophet's character.

Khizr Khān ejected from Multān joins Tīmūr.

Khizr Khān was ejected from Multān by Sārang Khān, brother of Mallū Iqbāl Khān, the Wazir and king-maker of Delhi, in 798/1395. The circumstances were as follows. By that time there happened to be two Sultans in Delhi, claiming the allegiance of the subjects, Naṣiruddīn Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad IV (795-815/1393-1413), having been proclaimed in Delhi, and Naṣrat Shāh bin Faṭḥ Khān, son of Firūz Tughlaq (797-802/1395-1399) maintaining a court at Firūzabad, within the distance of five miles from Delhi. Khizr Khān's fault was that he had withheld allegiance from Maḥmūd Shāh, as many other nobles and Provincial Governors did, because the territories of the Sultanate had become divided between the supporters of the two rival monarchs. Sarang Khān defeated Khizr Khān in a battle⁵ and remained in occupation of Multān in spite of his suffering a defeat at the hands of Tatār Khān, Governor of Pānipat at Kōtlā.⁶ Sārang Khān did not long enjoy his loot, for during the same year (799/1396) he was defeated and captured by Mirzā Pīr Muḥammad Jahāngīr, Tīmūr's grand-son⁷ and subsequently killed by orders of Tīmūr in 801/1398,⁸ when the latter overran Multān on his way to India. When Tīmūr turned towards Delhi still torn by schism and intrigues of nobles changing sides like weather-cocks thousands of refugees fled before his invading hordes. One such was Khizr Khān who had taken refuge in the hills of Miwāt and later sought Tīmūr's protection, just a few days after the latter's capture and sack of Delhi. Bahādūr Nāhir Khān, the Khān-zada chief of Miwāt⁹ was another notable

5. Tar Mub. Shāhī, 162.

6. Tar Mub. Shāhī, 162.

7. Sharfuddin 'Alī Yazdī, Zafar-nāma, A. S. B., Edn., II, 51.

8. Tar Mub. Shāhī 163.

9. The Khān-zādas claim descent from Jādon Rājputs. The story has it that two brothers, Sānpar Pāl and Sheopar-pāl, sons of a Rājput chief of Jādon clan, accepted Islam during the reign of Firūz Tughlaq, in 757/1356, in the hands of Hazrat Naṣiruddin Chirāgh of Delhi, and were renamed Bahādūr Nāhir Khān and Chhajjū Khān respectively. I have not yet found any support for this theory from reliable authorities.

who submitted to Timūr on this occasion. *Khizr Khān* was set at liberty because of his being a Saiyad; the rest were thrown into prison in spite of a promise of safe-conduct.¹⁰ When Timūr returned from India, leaving behind him destruction, fire, and smoke, *Khizr Khān*, accompanying Timūr's army was bestowed the 'shaqs' of Multān and Dipālpūr (Montgomery District, W. Punjab) and was allowed to take charge of his assignment.¹¹ Meanwhile, soon after Timūr's departure, Nuṣrat Shāh who had fled to Miwāt, came back and occupied the metropolis for some time. But ultimately he failed to consolidate his position against Mallū Iqbal Khān, Wazir of Maḥmūd Shāh Tughlaq. Being defeated, Nuṣrat Shāh fled to Miwāt [Jamadi I, 801/March 1399] once more, to die there soon after. Mallū Iqbal Khān brought the Middle Do-ab under his control, but the rest of the country, remained, as usual, under the possession of nobles and self-appointed chiefs.

Khizr Khān is bestowed Multān and Dipālpūr by Timūr.

Multān, Dipālpūr and the vicinity of Sind, passed in virtual sovereignty, under the control of *Khizr Khān*; Mahoba and Kālpī were usurped by Maḥmūd Khān, son of Malik-Zāda Firūz; the vast tract comprising Kanauj, Awadh, Kara, Dalmaū (Hardoi District, Awadh), Sandila, Bahraich, Bihār, and Jaunpūr, were held by Khwaja-i-Jahān Malik-us-Sharq (since 1394, A.D.); Mālwa was held by Nizām Khān, Sāmānā (in Patiala State) by Ghālib Khān, Bayāna by Shams Khān Awhadi.¹² Mallū did his level best to reconquer the territories lately lost to Delhi. He captured Bayāna, temporarily established his authority over Harsingh, the Hindu chief of Kāthēr (Rohil-khand), and Rai Subir Singh, the Chauhān chief of Etāwā, and compelled them to pay the withheld revenue. In 803/1400, a year before Sultān Maḥmūd Tughlaq's return to Delhi from Gujrāt, the place of his refuge during Timūr's invasion of India, *Khizr Khān*, had to fight a desperate battle with Taghi Khān described as a Turkish slave of Sultān Firūz Tughlaq,¹³ and a son-in-law of Ghālib Khān, the all-powerful Governor of Sāmāna. Taghi was, however, defeated, on Rajaq, 803/March 6, 1401, by *Khizr Khān*, in the battle of Ajodhan (Pāk Pattan),¹⁴ and subsequently killed by the treacherous Ghālib Khān.¹⁵

10. Tār Mub Shāhi, 167; Nizāmuddīn, Tabaqāt I, 253.

11. Tār Mub Shāhi, 167; Nizāmuddīn Tab. I, 256.

12. Tār Mub Shāhi, 168.

13. Turk-bach-cha-i Sultāni.

14. 30. 20N, 73. 25E.

15. Tār Mub Shāhi 170.

Chaos in Delhi after Tīmūr's departure.

Meanwhile, in Delhi, Sultān Maḥmūd Tughlaq after his return from Gujrāt was at best a puppet in Mallū Iqbāl's hands. The Sultan tried to shake off this tutelage by walking into the camp of Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh Charqī at Kanauj. Having been coldly received there, he came back, and forcibly occupied Kanauj¹⁶ and left Delhi with Mallū Iqbāl Khān.^{16a} as its un-crowned king. Iqbāl failed to reconquer Gwālīor, seized from the Muslims by Bir Singh, the Tonwār Rājput chief, during the dark days of Tīmūr's invasion of Delhi¹⁷ and failed also to eject Sultān Maḥmūd from Kanauj. Iqbāl Khān's expedition to Sāmānā 808/1405, culminating in the treacherous murder of Bahrām Khān Turk-bach-cha, at Talūndī, (Talwandī), and the imprisonment of Rāi Dāūd Kamāl, the Mēn Rājput chief and of Rāi Hānsū, son of Rāi Kulchand Bhatti, brought him into clash with Khizr Khān. Sultānshah (son of) Bahrām Lōdī, Khizr Khān's general defeated and killed Malik Iqbāl Mallū in the battle of Ajodhan (Pāk Pattan), 19 Jamādī I, 808/December 12, 1405.¹⁸

After Mallū Iqbāl's death, the loyal nobles, led by Daulat Khān Lōdī, brought back Sultān Maḥmūd from Kanauj to Delhi. Iqbāl Khān's family was sent to Kōl (Aligarh) and Daulat Khān was invested by the Sultān with the office of the Wazir and put in charge of the districts of the Middle Doāb.¹⁹ Maḥmūd Shāh deputed Daulat Khān to recover Kanauj seized by Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī 809/1406, but Daulat Khān was defeated and driven by the Sharqī forces.

The tract from Multān to the bank of the Jumna occupied by Khizr Khān.

In 810/1407, Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī was leading a huge army towards Delhi, and was about to cross the Jumna after capturing Sambhal (Moradabād District, U.P.), when the news of a projected

16. Tār Mub Shāhī, 170.

16a. Vide 'Idgāh Inscription dated 807/1404-5, in the village of Kharera near Delhi on a red sandstone slab fixed on the south bastion, constructed by Dilpasand Khān, probably a slave of Mallū Iqbāl, at the orders of the latter. Zafar Hasan, List of Mahammadan and Hindu Monuments Vol. II, Monument No. 287.; Vide also the same author's article entitled "An Inscription of Mallū Iqbāl Khān", Proceedings of the Allahabad Session of the Indian History Congress, 1938.

17. Tār Mub Shāhī, 172.

18. Tār Mub Shāhī, 174.

19. Tar Mub Shāhī, 174.

invasion of Jaunpūr by Hushang Shāh Ghōrī of Mālwa²⁰ forced him to turn back. He did so after placing Malik Marhaba in charge of Buland-Shahr lately captured. The menace to the metropolis being over, Daulat Khān marched on Sāmāna, offered battle and defeated Bairām Khān, son of Behram Khān, one of Khizr Khān's adherents in a battle.²¹ This caused Khizr Khān to march against Daulat Khān. The latter was defeated and forced across the Jumna, so that Khizr Khān became the leige-lord of many chiefs holding the whole tract from Multān upto the bank of the Jumna in full sway. He bestowed the fiefs of Hiṣār Firūza on Qawām Khān, the iqtas of Sāmānā and Sunām were taken away from Bairām Khān and bestowed on Maṣnad-i-ʿĀlā Zirak Khān.²¹ Bairām was given Sirhind instead. The Sultān of Delhi had nothing left to him except the Middle Doāb and Rohtak. In Rajab 811/November 1408, Sultān Maḥmūd captured Sirhind by defeating Qawām Khān, Khizr Khān's Governor, but soon, after the retirement of the Sultān, Khizr Khān hurled back the Delhi forces, under Malik Sikandar Tuḥfa and sent them across the Jumna once more.²² He followed his success by launching an attack on Delhi via Rohtak, and besieged Sultān Maḥmūd at Sīrī and Ikhtiar Khān at Firūzabād, but failing in his object, he retired to Faṭhpūr.²³

Khizr Khān attacks Delhi a second time but fails.

In 813, Khizr Khān captured Rohtak from Malik Idrīs; next year, he seized Hānsī, plundered Nārṇol and most of Miwāt, including the town of Tijjārā,²⁴ again laid siege to Sīrī, but failed to accomplish its subjugation. The Sultān, ever immersed in sensual pleasure and debauchery, found time after the raising of the siege of the capital for going out a-hunting. But he died on his way back to Delhi, in Rajab I, 915/October 1412.²⁵ After Sultān Maḥmūd's death, the nobles and chiefs offered fealty to Daulat Khān.²⁶

20. Nizamuddīn, *Tabaqāt*, I, 261.

21. Tār Mub Shāhī, 177.

22. Tār Mub Shāhī, 177.

23. About 20 miles N. E. of Kahrōr, and shown in Constable's map at Lat. 29. 40N, long. 72. 10E. Hodivala, *Studies*, 399.

24. About 30 miles, north-east of Alwar city.

25. Tār Mub Shāhī, 180; Nizāmuddīn, *Tabaqāt*, I, 264.

26. Tār Mub Shāhī, 180.

Khizr Khān captures Delhi in the third attempt, 1414 A.D.

In 816/1413, Khizr Khān brought his forces to Delhi for the third time, and secured the submission of Jalāl Khān, brother's son of Bahādur Nāhīr Khān.²⁷ After a four month's siege the city capitulated. He deposed Daulat Khān and handed him over to Qawām Khān, to be imprisoned in Hisār Firūza. The latter killed him.²⁸ According to the Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī, Delhi was captured by Khizr Khān on 15 Rabi I, 817/June 4, 1414.²⁹

Khizr Khān's accession to the throne, 1414 A.D.

After the capture of Delhi, Khizr Khān did not assume the title of the Sultān, but took the more humble title of Rāyāt-i-Ālā (the Sublime Standard). Though he caused the Khuṭba to be read in the name of Timūr, and Mirzā Shahrukh, he discontinued it when the Timurid Empire began to break up. "He did not strike coins in his own name", and "preferred to maintain types of coin that had become popular in the recent past, merely altering dates in them".³⁰ At the time of his seizure of Delhi, Khizr Khān possessed Multān, part of the Punjāb, a fraction of the Jumna-Ganges Dōab, and commanded a doubtful allegiance of the chiefs of Miwāt. The rest of the country had been lost to the Empire.

Political condition at his accession.

The Rājputs defied the authority of the Sultān in Rohilkhand and the Doāb whereas the Punjāb possessions were periodically ravaged by the Khokars, a tribe of Jāts and Rājput new converts to Islām, and the Turks, whose ancestors had been the slaves of the Tughlaq Sultāns. The nobles offering allegiance to him were self-seeking, and ever-ready to sell themselves to the highest bidder.

Rehabilitates Delhi and forms a government.

The immediate problem before him was to lay down the structure of an orderly government, rehabilitate Delhi, devastated and pillaged by Timūr, and restore the sway of the Sultanate over the

27. Tabaqāti, 264.

28. Badāonī, Muntakhabut-Tawārikh, I, 275. (Pers. Text., A. Sb. B).

29. Tar Mub Shāhī, 181.

30. H. N. Wright, Coinage and Metrology of the Sultāns of Delhi, p. 239.

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fertile plains of the Doāb and in the areas in the vicinity of the capital. To the people of Delhi reduced to dire straits and abject poverty, he gave generous compensations for rehabilitation, with the result that peace and prosperity quickly returned to the hapless city. He formed an administration by making Malik-us-Sharq Malik Tuhfa, the Wazīr and dubbed him with the new title of Tāj-ul-Mulk. Saiyad Sālem of Amrōhā was conferred the fief of Sahāranpūr and invested with great power so that "all acts began to be transacted after his advice".³¹ Malik 'Abdur-Rahim, Khizr Khān's foster-brother, was bestowed the title of 'Ālā-ul-Mulk, and given the Shaqs of Multān and Fathpūr, once held by Khizr Khān. Malik Sarwar was made the Shahna (City Prefect) of Delhi and Deputy-in-absentia (Naib-i Ghaibat) of the Sultān; Malik Khair-uddīn Khān became the 'Ariz-i Mumālik (Muster-Master); Malik Kālū became the Superintendent of the Royal Elephants, and Malik Dāūd became the *Dabīr* (Secretary), and Ikhtiār Khān was made the Governor of the Middle Doāb with sway over the tract recovered from the dominion of Maḥmūd Tughlaq. Khizr Khān behaved with the members of the late regnant family with kindness and compassion, restoring to them their pensions, endowments and grants.

Classification of his campaigns.

The administration became orderly and methodical. He then set his attention to reducing lawlessness in the areas under his control and establish his authority over territories which once formed a part of the empire. The expeditions undertaken in this connection, instead of being discussed chronologically, can be arranged under convenient regional heads, viz those undertaken in (1) Rohilkhand and the Dōab, (2) *Miwāt*, Bayana and Gwālīor, (3) against the western provinces and (4) against the rulers of independent Provincial Dynasties.

Khizr's Rohilkhand and Doāb Campaigns.

In the year of his accession to the throne, he deputed Tāj-ul-Mulk, the Wazīr to suppress Hindu uprisings in Rohilkhand and the Doāb. Passing to Rohilkhand via Ahār, in Bulandshahr district, and crossing the Ganges, he plundered Rāi Harsingh's

³¹. Tār Mub Shāhī, 183.

estates,³² and territories of other Kathēr chiefs. The latter fled and took refuge in the village of Āonla, and later submitted and paid the arrears of revenue in cash. Receiving the homage of Mahābat Khān, the chief of Badāun, the victorious Wazīr followed the courses of the Kālīnadi,³³ and crossing the Ganges by the Sargdwārī ford near Pātiālī, he fell on Khōr³⁴ near Shamsabad town, and Kampil and then came to Padham,³⁵ via Sakīt (Etah Distt., U. P.). Hasan Khān, governor of Rāprī (now a village in Shikohābād pargana, Mainpūrī Distt., U. P.), and his brother Hamza Khān surrendered. Rāi Subir Singh,³⁶ the Chauhan chief, who held sway over the whole tract from Etāwā to Jalēsar, offered service and the Rājās of Gwālīor, Siwrī and Chandwār (near Fīruzbād town, Āgra Distt.), paid arrears of revenue. Jalēsar was taken from the Rājput chief of Chandwār and restored to its former Muslim owner. He also appointed his own Shiqdārs in the conquered localities.³⁷ From that place, he proceeded towards Etāwā, punishing its rebel chief, and then returned to Delhi, by the usual Doāb highway.³⁸ Two years later, Tāj-ul-Mulk secured the submission of Rāi Subir Singh, once again, in the following manner.

Tāj-ul-Mulk undertakes a second expedition, 821/1416.

In 821/1418, Khizir Khān sent a fresh expedition under Tāj-ul-Mulk, for the suppression of the refractory Kathēr chief, Rāi Harsingh Deo, who again fled to the forests of Āonla which covered a stretch of 48 miles.^{38a} He was driven from the jungles to the Kumaun hills with his luggage and horses left behind. After a

32. Harsingh in Tār Mub Shāhī and Tab Akbarī, Bīrsingh in Maāsīr-i Rahīmī, I, 405 and Narsingh in Ferishta, Lucknow, I, 162.

33. Kālīndī, Rahab and Āb-i Siāh are the names of the Kālīnadi.

34. Khōr is 3 miles from Shamsabād which is 12 miles n. e. of Farrukhabād town, in 27°32' Lat and 79°3' long. Fuhrer Arch. Survey of India, N. S. Vol. on U. P. See also Hodivala, Studies in Indo-Muslim History, p. 396.

35. Padham is situated on the high road to Etah, near the Arind river, 23 miles distant from Mainpūrī, and 18 miles from Shikuhābād, in Lat. 27. 20, Long. 78. 40 E, N.W.P. District Gaz. 1908, Mainpūrī Vol. 83, 146, 245-46; Hodivala, Studies, 401.

36. Subir Singh, in Maāsīr-i Rahīmī I, 405. Hodivala, Studies, 392, prefers following Ferishta and a strong local tradition, the name Sumer Singh or Sumēr Sāh, Vide also N.W.P. Distt. Gaz., 1908 Edition, Etāwā Vol. 129, 206, 220.

37. Tār Mub Shāhī 184, Tab. I, 266.

38. Tār Mub Shāhī, 137.

38a. Badāoni I, Ranking, 287.

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five days' pursuit, Tāj-ul-Mulk rejoined his camp, crossing the Ganges at the Pachlāna ford near Patiālī, proceeded to Etāwā, laid siege to its fort, and compelled its chief (Subīr or Sumēr Singh) to pay the withheld revenue.³⁹

The Sultān himself undertakes control of operations and marches to Kathēr and the Do-āb.

The Sultān, apparently dissatisfied with the conduct of the campaigns by Tāj-ul Mulk, led an army himself against Rāi Har-singh who had remained unsubjugated in the Kumaun hills, and had emerged to the plains as soon as the Delhi forces had turned their backs. After punishing the rebels of Kōl (Aligarh, presumably the Rājputs and Thākurs), and after completely pacifying the locality, he followed the courses of the Kālī-Nadī, and crossed the Ganges near Sambhal where he constructed a fort. From Sambhal he went to Padham, and from the latter place to Patiālī. But the news of the revolt of Mahābat Khān, governor of Badāon, made him retrace his steps. He came to lay siege to the Badāon fort for six months and when its fall became only a question of time, the prey was seized from his hands by the treachery of Qawām Khān and Ikhtiār Khān. The Sultān hastened to the Sirhind, captured Qawām Khān, Ikhtiār Khān and their accomplices and had them executed as traitors after his return to Delhi.⁴⁰

Etāwa Zamīndārs attract the attention of the Wazīr and the Sultān once again in 823-24/1420-21.

In 823/1420, a fresh expedition under Taj-ul-Mulk was necessitated, for punishing the Etāwah Zamindārs. Passing through Deoli,⁴¹ he exacted the arrears of revenue from Rāi Subīr Singh, pillaged Chandwār and came back to Delhi, after realising cash from Kathēr chiefs. In 824/1421, the Sultān himself assumed the command of the army, and came to Etāwā via. Bayāna and Gwālīor.

39. Tār Mub Shāhī, 187.

40. Tār Mub Shāhī, 189.

41. Delhi in Persian Texts. Deoli lies between Sarsa and Sangar rivers. It is one of the places in U.P., where Chauhāns are still found in great strength. Deoli is the Duhlee of Thornton, who says that it is in 27.2 N. Lat, and 78.52 E. Long. 20 miles, N.W. of Etāwa. It is now in Barnahāl Parg. of Mainpūrī Distt. U.P. Distt. Gaz. Mainpuri Vol (X), 94. 151, 204; Hodivala Studies, 402.

Taj-ul-Mulk dies and his son Malik Sikandar is made Wazir, 1421 A.D.

While passing through Gwalior, Taj-ul-Mulk the Wazir died after a short illness. The Sultan invested his son Malik Sikandar with his father's office. When the royal troops came near Etāwa, Rāi Subir's son, who had succeeded his father after the latter's death, professed loyalty, by sending his own son as a hostage to the Sultan's court.⁴² It was in the very same campaign, that the Sultān also fell ill and died shortly after his return to the capital city.

Gwālīor, Bayāna and Miwāt Campaigns.

In 819/1416, two years after a successful revenue-collecting expedition under Taj-ul-Mulk had been conducted towards Gwalior territories, Khizr Khān laid siege to the fort of Gwalior itself, reaching the place on his return journey from Nagaur (in Jodhpūr) to Delhi.⁴³ The fort defied all assaults and Khizr Khān had to rest content by taking only cash offerings from the Rāja. He came back to Delhi via Bayāna whose chief Karūm-ul-Mulk too submitted by paying 'the customary revenue'.

In 824/1421, Khizr Khān led an expedition against Miwāt in which country, Bahādūr Nāhir Khān's descendants had been ruling in full independence for some time past. On the approach of the royal army, most of the Miwātīs left their dwellings in the plains and took refuge in the hills. Kōtla described by Abul Fazl⁴⁴ as a fortified city on a hill containing a reservoir, 4 kos in circumference, and apparently the seat of government of the Khānzada chief, was abandoned by the Miwātīs and destroyed by the royal army, completely. The same treatment was meted out to the whole area between Gwālīor and Miwāt.⁴⁵

Campaigns in the Western Provinces.

The Punjab was one of the most disturbed areas in the possession of the new dynasty. The central portion of the Province was being constantly plundered and ravaged by the Khokhars,⁴⁶

42. Tār Mub Shāhī, 192.

43. Maāsir-i Raḥimī, I, 406.

44. Āin-i Akbarī, Jarrett II, 193.

45. Tār Mub Shāhī, 192.

46. In the Punjab Census Reports, a larger part of the Khokhars are returned as converts from the Jāts, and a smaller part from the Rājputs. Pufj. Distt. Gaz., Shāhpūr Distt., Statistics Vol. p. 190.

who had risen into independence, after Timūr's departure and held possession of a considerable portion of the *Jach Do-āb*.⁴⁷ The Turk-bach-chas, the descendants of the slaves of the Tughlaq Sultāns were becoming powerful in the Central Punjāb. As a step towards strengthening the hold over Delhi, the Sultān had appointed, in 818/1416, his own son, prince Mubārak Khān Malik-us-Sharq, as governor of the Shaqs of Fīrūzpūr and the Sirhind, and the Prince being detained in court, Malik Saddhū Nādīra was appointed his deputy, under designation of Nāib-i Shāhzāda.^{47a} The prince was called to the capital after a short visit to his charge. Unfortunately, in the very first year of his assumption of office, Malik Saddhū was treacherously seized and killed by the Turk-Bach-chas of the Bairām Khānī clan, who had, in addition, seized Sāmānā, so near the capital.

First expedition against rebels in the Western Provinces sent in 1416.

In Jamādi 819/June-July 1416, the Sultān sent a retaliatory expedition, under Malik Dāūd and Zīrak Khān, who chased the Turk-bach-chas across the Sutlej upto the hills of Nagarkōt, without effecting their final subjugation.⁴⁸ In 820/1417, a second expedition was sent against Tughān, the Turk-bach-cha, who had made common cause with the assassins of Malik Saddhū and was encroaching on the fiefs of the western Punjāb, then under the command of Malik-us-Sharq Zīrak Khān, governor of Sāmānā. When reinforcements reached near Sāmānā, the rebels abandoned the siege of Sirhind, in charge of Malik Kamāl Baddha, successor of Malik Saddhū, and deputy on behalf of Prince Mubārak Khān. Tughān was pursued upto the hills and constrained to submit by sending his own son as hostage to the Delhi court, and surrendering the murderers of Malik Saddhū.⁴⁹ Tughān got the governorship of Jullundur as reward for his submission.

Expedition against impostor Sārang Khān, 822/1419.

In 822/1419, the Punjāb was disturbed by an impostor, so frequently met with in the history of Czarist Russia, who posed himself as Sārang Khān, brother of the great Mallū Iqbāl Khān, the

47. The tract between the Jhelum and the Chenāb.

47a. Maāsīr-i Rahīmī I, 405.

48. Tār Mub Shāhī, 186-7; Tab. Akb. I, 267.

49. Tār Mub Shāhī, 187.

real Sārang Khān, having been executed, it may be remembered by order of Tīmūr after being taken captive by Prince Pir Muḥammad in 801/1398. The impostor appeared in the hills of Bajwāra,⁵⁰ near Jullundur, and soon collected a formidable following of sturdy peasants. At the approach of the royal army under Malik Sultān-shah Bahrām Lōdī, the governor of Sirhind,⁵¹ the pretender came out of the hills, captured Rūpar, (on the south bank of the Sutlej, in Ambāla Distt., 43 miles north of Ambāla city). A contested battle took place near Sirhind in Shabān 822/1419, in which Sultān Shāh became victorious.⁵² The false Sārang, retreated to Lohōri, in the jurisdiction of the Sirhind, and after the arrival of royal reinforcements, was chased to Rūpar and ultimately to the Simla hills. In Muharram 823/Jan. 1420, the impostor emerged from the hills to be treacherously murdered⁵³ by Tughān who soon threw off the mask of conciliation, and revolted after acquiring the loots of the false Sārang. He rose in open revolt, laid siege to the fort of Sirhind,⁵⁴ and marched towards Mansūrpūr and Pāyal. Malik Khairuddīn Khān, governor of the Middle Do-āb was placed in command, with Zīrak Khān, governor of Sāmāna as his co-adjutant. Tughān was engaged in an action fought across the Sutlej, and decisively defeated, so that he sought safety in the unsubdued Khokhar territories, and became a guest of Jasrath, son of Shaikh Khokhar.⁵⁵ Zīrak Khān was placed in charge of the forfeited jagirs of Tughān. Khizr died before the Khokhar avalanche rolled over the north-western provinces of Delhi.

Khizr Khān's expedition against Gujrat, 824/1421.

Khizr Khān waged only one war against the monarch of an independent state, in 819./1416 A.D.⁵⁶ On the receipt of news, of the investment of the fortified city of Nagaur, and in response to an appeal for aid made by its local chief, he himself led a campaign against Ahmad Shah of Gujrat via Tonk and Tuda, in Jaipur state.⁵⁷

50. Bajwara is further north of Machhiwāra in Hoshiarpūr Dist. Punj.

51. Tār Mub Shāhi, 190. See also an Article on Malik Sultān Shāh Lōdī, in the Historical Quarterly Cal. Vol. 15, March, 1939, by the writer.

52. Tār Mub Shāhi, 190.

53. Tāb Akb I, 269.

54. Tār Mub Shāhi, 191; Samana, acc to Tāb Akb.

55. Tār Mub Shāhi 186.

56. Tār Mub Shāhi, 186.

57. Tār Mub Shāhi, 186. Also see "Some Minor Dynasties of Northern India in the 15th and 16th centuries" by the author in the Journal of Ind Hist., Triandrum, No. 78, Pt. III, p. 236, (1948).

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In Nagaur,⁵⁸ a semi-independent dynasty had been established by Shams Khān, brother of Zāfar Khān (Muẓaffar Shāh I, 739-806; 806-814 A.H.), the first king of Gujrat. Muẓaffar Shāh being imprisoned by his own son Tātār Khān in 806/1403, the former appealed to his brother for aid, Shams Khān not only restored his brother to freedom and placed him on the throne of Gujrāt, but he avenged the wrong on his brother by poisoning his nephew to death.⁵⁹ He got the 'shaq' of Nagaur in reward. This inaugurated a second reign of Muẓaffar Shah I, and he was, on his death in 814/1411, succeeded by his grandson (son of Tātār Khān), who assumed the title of Aḥmad Shāh. Aḥmad Shāh conducted a campaign against Shams Khān to avenge his father's murder.⁶⁰ Shams Khān, apprehensive of the consequences, appealed to Khizr Khān, who readily responded at the prospect of coveting such a strategic point, though he had failed to redeem the fertile areas close to the metropolis of Delhi. At the appearance of Khizr Khān with a big force, Aḥmad Shāh retired to Pātan (Anhilwāra), without measuring strength.⁶¹ The submission of the Nagaur chief was nominal and that too lasting till 821/1418, for in that year, Fīrūz Khān, son of Shams Khān being threatened with an invasion by Maḥmūd shāh Khalji of Mālwa, transferred his allegiance to Gujrāt by sending the message of his submission through a swift camel rider.⁶² Thus ended Khizr Khān's dominion over Nagaur. Khizr Khān, as has been previously referred to, fell ill in the campaign, which he conducted in 824/1421, in Miwāt-Gwālior-Bayāna area while returning from Nagaur. This unlucky campaign had cost the life of the aged Wazir, Malik-us-Sharq, Taj-ul-Mulk as well. The Sultān succumbed after his return to the capital, on 17, Jamadi II, 824/May 20, 1421, after a reign of 7 lunar years and 2 months.⁶³ His tomb lies in the village of Okhla to the south-east of Khizrabad, supposed to be the city of Khizrabad.^{63a}

58. Nagaur in Mārwar, at 27.12N Lat., and 73.44E lon., at a distance of 11½ miles from the Railway station of the same name, on the Jodhpūr-Bikāner Railway.

59. Tār Mub Shāhī, 172.

60. Bayley, Local Mahomedan Dynasties—Gujrāt, 86-87.

61. Tār Mub Shāhī, 186.

62. Tab. Akb., III, 103.

63. Tār Mub. Shāhī, 193.

63a. Āsār-i-Sanādīd, Syad Ahmad Khān Ch., II, 25-26. Carr Stephens Seven Cities of Delhi 159, Zāfar Hasan, A list of Mahammadan and Hindu Monuments, Vol. IV, No. 17.

Khizr Khān is described by historians as a wise, just and benevolent ruler and a keeper of promises. But it must be remembered that on most occasions his benevolence resulted from the weakness of his position rather than of his nature. He was endowed with remarkable qualities of head and heart, like most adventurers who wade through war and diplomacy to a throne. Personally, he was brave and resourceful, and never hesitated to undertake a distant and difficult campaign, when occasion demanded. Though very often lenient and clement, he could be harsh when necessary. Though he pardoned Mahābat Khān the rebel governor of Badāon, his confederates were promptly executed to warn others. It must be said to his credit that he never resorted to any base treachery to get the better of a tough enemy. As a ruler, he seems to have been keenly solicitous of the welfare of his subjects. His grant in cash and kind and remission of revenue, noticed in the beginning of his reign, to the sufferers of Tīmūr's loot and rapine had resulted in the return of confidence and rehabilitation of Delhi. His ceaseless activity, in war and peace, had revived the Sultanate in the Punjāb and the Doāb and Rohilkhand, and had made many refractory chiefs law-abiding. His whole life was a struggle against the forces of disintegration and anarchy. He not only revived the lost prestige of the Sultanate, but also contributed to the increase of its life-span. From Multān in the west, upto the frontiers of Jaunpūr, a little beyond Etāwa, and from the foot-hills of the Himālayās, upto the boundary of Mālwa (inclusive of the vassal chiefs of Bayāna and Gwālior) all these tracts were brought by him once more under the rule of the Delhi Kingdom. "People," says Ferishta,⁶⁴ "were happy and contented under his rule, and for this reason, old and young, the slave and the free, lamented his death by wearing the black garment." According to 'Abdul Bāqī,⁶⁵ "innumerable charities are attributed to him; a number of people who became homeless due to the invasion of the Lord of the two Conjunctions, (Tīmūr) became prosperous, and masters of huge retinues."

64. Newalkishore I, 162.

65. Maāsīr-i Rahīmī, 409-10.

The Problem of Court Language in British India

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In the District Records of Lucknow, I discovered recently a file of correspondence of 1875-6, regarding the adoption of Hindi as the court language of North-West Provinces. These letters bring to light the first and now totally forgotten official inquiry on the Hindi-Urdu controversy in the post-mutiny period. A perusal of these records would show how the problem of court language in North India was viewed by the authorities. The arguments put forward in these letters throw a flood of light on the outlook and policy of the British bureaucracy in India.

Curiously enough, the question whether Hindi could be recognised as the court language of Oudh came up for consideration in the wake of a public agitation¹ at Patna for the introduction of Hindi in the Courts and Offices of Bihar.² The Government of India forwarded a copy of a petition of certain citizens of Patna, entitled, "Why should Nagri be introduced in the Courts and Offices of Behar," to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for his opinion.³ This Patna petition occasioned an interesting discussion among officials in Bihar and Oudh, and eventually the petition was rejected. The Government of Bengal held that Hindi and Urdu could not⁴ be regarded as two distinct languages. Concurring in this view, the India Government further stated that 'an artificial, Sanskritized language' could not be fostered under the name of Hindi. The authorities in Oudh also rejected the claims of Hindi as against Urdu.⁵

1. Letter from C. S. Bayley, Commissioner of Patna, May 20, 1875.
2. Letter from Government of Bengal, No. 17, July 9, 1875.
3. Letter from Government of India, No. 2/208, Nov. 17, 1875.
4. Letter from Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal to the Commissioner of Patna, July 9, 1875.
5. Circular from Govt. of India, Home Department, No. 17, 1875.

While expressing their strong opposition to making Hindi the court language, the official experts advanced arguments which would interest the students of Indian history at the present day. These may be thus summed up in the words of the authors themselves:

1. "To call Hindi and Urdu two languages is to perpetuate a vicious error. . ." "They are simply the city and rustic forms of one and the same language."⁶

2. It would be "very hazardous" for the Government to support Hindi against Urdu, for there was "political danger" involved in the disaffection of a class of men, about whom the "complaint already was that their means of living were too scanty." "The Mahomedans in fact would be ousted from public employ."⁷

3. Among the Hindus, "the facile Kayasth" who had "almost a monopoly of the court language" was strongly opposed to the change from Urdu to Hindi.⁸

4. The agitation for Hindi was ascribed to "the desire of Bengalis to be more extensively employed than at present in the Urdu-speaking provinces of India." "The Bengalis imagine they could learn Hindi easily", for "the Hindi characters and the Sanskrit technicalities are similar to those of Bengali".⁹

5. "The Hindi language is extinct". "Some persons doubt whether it was ever spoken at all by the masses". The Director of Public Instruction, Oudh, stated—"There can be no question now that what is known as Hindi, such, for instance, as that used in the Behar petition, is not the kind of speech used at the present day by the people of Oudh. During my five years' service in Bengal, I heard so much about the claims of the neglected Hindi language, that I came into Oudh with a mind imbued with the belief that the Urdu language was foreign to the masses. But, since I have had time to become better acquainted with the vernacular of the province, I have found out my mistake".¹⁰

6. Note by A. W. Croft, Inspector of Schools, July 16, 1875.

7. Letter from Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Oudh, No. 24, 1875.

8. Letter from the Commissioner of Patna, No. 397, Oct., 8, 1873.

9. Letter from A. Thomson, Inspector of Schools, Jan. 27, 1876.

10. Letter from Director of Public Instruction, Oudh, Lucknow, March 28, 1876.

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6. "When it is rememebred that all the vernacular newspapers and all the vernacular periodicals published in Oudh are in Urdu, and none in Hindi, there cannot be much doubt as to what the vernacular of this country really is".¹¹ "There is no class in the community, not even Brahmins, who transact matters of business in the Nagri character". The Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow stated emphatically "Hindi is not the vernacular of the Province and Urdu is".¹²

7. "The Nagri character has no advantage over the Persian".¹³ "The Nagri character is one which scarcely admits of being written in a running hand, and this fact alone is a decisive proof of its unfitness for being used as the court language".¹⁴

It is highly interesting to note that one official (S. C. Bayley) agreed with the opposite view that Hindi could be and "should be gradually introduced into the courts and offices" on the following¹⁵ grounds:

1. Hindi is not a rude language. It is a branch of Sanskrit which is the best language in the world.
2. Hindi can be written quickly.
3. Hindi can be learnt more easily than Urdu. "Nagri can be mastered in three or four months, while Urdu cannot be learnt so easily."
4. Hindi is better adapted for transliteration than Persian.
5. "The Persian characters can be altered with much greater facility than Nagri, and hence it affords greater temptation to fraudulent tampering with documents."
6. "Nagri is used in the transaction of all kinds of business in Nepal, Nagpur, and the Commissioner's Office at Almora,—a fact which proves that there is no defect in it."
7. Hindi is the vernacular of the Province.
8. "True, the Nagri takes a little more space in writing than Hindustani, but this defect cannot weigh against the many considerations in favour of the use of Nagri".

11. Letter from Inspector of Schools, Western Circle, Oudh, Feb. 25, 1876.
12. Letter from Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow, April 26, 1876.
13. Letter from A. Thomson, Jan. 27, 1876.
14. Letter from Director of Public Instruction, March 28, 1876.
15. Letter from S. C. Bayley, May 20, 1875.

But, a vast majority of officials reported in favour of Urdu, and they maintained that Hindi should not be substituted for Urdu as the court language. The Chief Commissioner of Oudh notified all Commissioners and Dy. Commissioners in Oudh as follows:

"The opinions of officers are unanimous that Urdu should remain the language of our courts; but that the use of difficult Perso-Arabic words should be discouraged as much as possible, and that writers generally should be made to write more legibly than they do at present".¹⁶

In short, the claims of Hindi were set aside in 1875-6 on grounds which were apparently more political and administrative than purely academic. One high official even asserted with an air of bravado, "There seems in fact as little reason for introducing Hindi as for introducing Chinese."¹⁷ The Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow went to the extent of saying—"Why not make the Court language English to suit that increasing class—the *Eurasians*?"¹⁸ Another official recommended the use of the Roman character in these words: "Were the Roman character used, neither the Sanskrit element nor the Perso-Arabic would be at a disadvantage; and the Hindustani language would be formed, as it should be, by the survival of the fittest words".¹⁹

16. General Circular No. 30-3303 of 1876, July 24, 1876.

17. L  ter from DPI, Oudh, to Chief Commissioner, Oudh, Lucknow, March 28, 1876. No. 3704 of 1875-6.

18. Letter from Dy. Commissioner, Lucknow, No. 1812, April 24, 1876.

19. Letter from A. Thomson to DPI, Oudh, Jan; 27, 1876, No. 841.

The First Expedition of Admiral Van Goens to Malabar

(*M. Antoinette P. Roelofs's version*)

BY

T. I. POONEN, M.A., PH.D.

In 1652, after the expiry of the Dutch truce with Portugal, the Indian Ocean and the adjacent coasts became a new theatre of war between the contending powers. The stake was the hegemony over the Indian Ocean; the stage of the combat was principally the West Coast of India proper and Ceylon.

Serious insurrections in the Moluccas which caused the military might of the Company to be used in the first place only there and nowhere else obstructed a strong action in the Western Quarters in the earliest years after 1652. The capture of Colombo in 1656 and the renewed blockade of Goa in the self-same year just inaugurated a fresh powerful offensive against the centre of the Portuguese empire in India. The capture of Colombo necessarily resulted in the expulsion of the Portuguese from the neighbourhood of that fortress. It was Rijcklof Van Goens who was chosen by the Lords Seventeen for this task. In Van Goens the Lords Seventeen and the High Government found the man who did not put to shame in years to come the expectations of his masters.

Rijcklof Van Goens, to whose whole life and work no biography has up to the present been devoted, had behind him an already honourable career in the Company's service when he was appointed Admiral and General by the Governor-General and Council. Born at Rees on the 24th June 1619 as the son of Volckert Boyckes Van Goens and Hilligon Jacobsdichter, natives of Friesland, he had already as a boy of nine years come with his parents to India. Here the father, a former cornet of a company of cuirassiers in the service of the States who wished to try his luck in the far east, died shortly after his arrival at Batavia. As the mother likewise died speedily thereafter, the eleven year old Rijcklof stayed behind at Batavia without any particular inheritance other than the hope of God's mercy. On the intercession of

an uncle Boyckes Van Goens, who made his fortune in India, Arent Gardenijs, the governor of Coromandel, took pity on him. Van Goens entered into his service and Gardenijs took the boy with him to his place of duty. In 1634 Gardenijs returned home and the young Van Goens was again back at Batavia. The Governor-General Van Diemen appointed him as assistant in the ware-houses. Now he ascended gradually in the Company's grades from assistant, under-merchant and book-keeper of the trade books to merchant and second person over the administration of the Company's affairs. In 1645 he became senior merchant and chief of the pay-counting house at Batavia.

That he knew to draw attention to himself is obvious as in 1644, when he was hardly twenty-three years old, he was entrusted with the leadership of the embassy to Palembang, Djambi and Djohor. In 1649 he obtained for the first time a military commission. In the capacity of Commander over four ships, he was sent to Sunda Strait for capturing two Genoese ships which he fortunately accomplished. His diplomatic talents and his knack of handling Indian princes were utilised many times in the immediately following years.

In 1649-1650 he was ambassador with the King of Siam. In the ensuing years he performed five times the function of head of the embassy to the Soesoehoenen of Mataram, a perilous and not easy task. Meanwhile, he had obtained high office a number of times, was member of the Council of Justice (1651), first Upper Merchant of the Castle at Batavia—that is to say, first of the two assistants of the Director-General of Commerce—, President of the Orphan's Court (Court of Chancery) and in 1654 Extraordinary Councillor of India after he had been temporarily admitted in 1650 as co-opted member in that high College. In 1653 he was appointed Express Commissaris and Commander of the naval forces and militia sent to Ceylon, Wingurla and Surat in the Western Quarter. Here he secured his first military maritime success by attacking on the Indian Coast a Portuguese convoy of 64 frigates and galleys, and of these, 40 were destroyed and burned. Only 24 ships could escape. Shortly thereafter, he won a second victory over the Portuguese, close to Goa. By this means he destroyed four and seized as booty the fifth of a convoy of 5 heavily armed galleons.

At his own request he obtained discharge for returning to the fatherland after having received, in resounding words, the thanks of his masters in India as well as in the Netherlands.

As early as a year later he again, at the instance of the Lords Seventeen, entered the service of the Company, but on the condition that the first vacant seat in the College of the Council of India would be his. On the 22nd November 1656 he left for Batavia where he arrived in April 1657, passing through the Cape where, during his short stay, he performed his inspection as Director.

They were there just in the midst of the preparations for the equipment of the expedition to the coast of India proper and Ceylon for demolishing the Portuguese empire there. The Commander of the military forces to be despatched had at the same time as Director to inspect the factories in the Western Quarters. Van Goens who offered his services and whose antecedents made him extremely suitable for the double object of the expedition was nominated and sailed with wide plenary powers as "Director Superintendent, Admiral and General on water and on land over the coasts of India, Coromandel, Surat, Ceylon, Bengal and Malacca." His instructions contained the Company's wishes for what was to be fulfilled, to a great extent it is true not immediately but in the following years.

In accordance with these instructions, the High Government readily directed that Van Goens, more than anything else, "must take, through surprise attack or siege, Diu, the Portuguese fort in the peninsula of Guzerat at the entrance to the Gulf of Cambay; however, Van Goens was given no definite command for the purpose and it was left to circumstances and his good discretion. After the capture of that place he must, sailing along the coast and harassing the enemy as much as possible, proceed to Colombo for consolidating there the capture of Colombo by taking the island of Mannar, the town and citadel of Jaffnapatam and Tuticorin situated on the opposite side on the south coast of India proper. By this the region nearest Colombo would be cleared of the enemy. The High Government already cast a covetous eye on the Malabar Coast also, not the least for becoming the sole master of the Malabar pepper which in the preceding years accrued to them in no small quantities in a peaceable manner. By becoming sole lord and master on the coast through an armed action, the Company hoped to switch off other competitors and thereby monopolise that trade for themselves. But in 1657, although these plans were set in view, there was nevertheless some hesitation as to whether the forces could accomplish so much.

The first part of his instructions, the military expedition to the Indian Coast, Van Goens executed in a brilliant manner although

the capture of Diu had to be abandoned so that the blockade of Goa might not be endangered. After the end of that voyage, Tuticorin, Mannar, Jaffnapatam and Negapatam had fallen into Dutch hands. To this success, the Commander of the blockading fleet in front of Goa, Admiral Roothaes, made his contribution in no small measure by his energetic and brave actions as a result of which the attempts at relief by the Portuguese were doomed to failure.

For a precise and detailed study of this campaign and voyage, we are indebted to Dr. J. Aalbers whose study however comprises only the activity of Van Goens in the years 1653-1654 and 1657-58 and alas! it did not develop into a biography of this remarkable Dutch empire builder with his wide embracing projects which however suited a great and ambitious king rather than a servant of a trading Company.

Van Goens did not attend to the inspection of Surat and Wingura until his return from his military operations, but passed on these inspections to his fiscal, Lucas Van der Dussen.

After completion of the successful voyages along the Indian Coast in 1657-1658 there remained for him the carrying out of the further mandates of his instructions.

At this time, the Portuguese trade was in a highly critical position. Their homeland, Portugal, where in 1656 the first Braganza king, John IV, died, and the Government came into the hands of the Queen Regent, Louise, for the under-aged Alfonso IV, was since 1657 in renewed war with Spain. The Spanish Commander, Don Juan of Austria, invaded the country and occupied the frontier provinces. Also, the Dutch with whom the peace was not still ratified—of which circumstance the Portuguese made use for conquering Brazil which belonged to the Dutch—resolved to carry on the war energetically not only in India but also in Europe. In 1657 the Portuguese Coast was blockaded by a Dutch fleet under Van Wessenaar of Obdem. In 1658 the Portuguese coast was occupied for a portion of the year by a fleet of 22 ships under De Ruyter. It was only when the development of the political situation in Holland made the presence of the Dutch fleet there urgently necessary that the Portuguese coast again became free. The sending of a helping squadron to India by the Portuguese in 1657 and 1658 was not to be thought of.

In India the occupation of Goa by the Dutch defence fleet not only crippled the Portuguese strategically, but also struck the Por-

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tuguese Indian trade in the heart while it was fairly impossible that they could send reinforcements from Goa to the other Portuguese forts on the Malabar coast which would certainly be the next aim of the Dutch.

Lack of money, weapons and also of men caused by large desertions made the situation continually bitter. Cries for help went to Lisbon. If the already long promised help were not speedily sent, the situation wherein the Portuguese in India traded could not be maintained for two more years. But the greatest trouble in Goa was to scrape together the financial resources necessary to furnish the galleons with weapons and make the fortresses especially Cochin defensible.

The Dutch naturally gave ready credence to the widespread rumours that those Portuguese who had found their second fatherland in India and had married and acquired possession of land and felt that they had, now been deceived and abandoned by the Government would willingly yield themselves if need be to the Dutch provided freedom of religion and preservation of their possessions were permitted. But in view of the enmity between both people, it remained very much to be seen whether the number of such people would be great. It was rumoured that, provided reinforcements came from Batavia. Van Goens would rather proceed with his entire military forces to Cochin as he anticipated that the Portuguese would, by coming from outside Goa, make a desperate and vigorous exertion to recover what was lost. Meanwhile Commander Roothaas was to keep on besieging the harbour of Goa. If they succeeded in capturing Cochin, they could without bothering themselves about Goa, steer to Diu and besiege that place. Van Goens cherished a more daring plan—not first to occupy Goa but to attack Cochin with the combined forces. By so doing they could at the same time defeat the Portuguese fleet that would come to relieve Cochin. No beginning was made to carry out the plan. The great practical benefit of the blockade was advantageously evident in the preceding years.

It was not the least the rumours of the intrigues of the English in whose favour the Portuguese would make room at Cochin provided they would offer to the Portuguese protection against the Dutch waylayers that made Van Goens turn his eyes first of all on Cochin. These were daring projects; the execution, however, required more prudent tactics.

The pepper trade which the Company had now already carried on for many years on the Malabar Coast thanks mainly to the work of Van Serooskercken at Kayamkulam, brought the Company no small profits. Since 25th October 1657 this trade was placed by the Governor-General and Council under the direction of the island of Ceylon. A survey of the developments from the commercial penetration of the Malabar Coast by the Dutch to their armed action against the Portuguese forts has already been given.

Although pepper was to be obtained at Kayamkulam for very low prices and Van Serooskercken estimated the number of lasts of pepper obtained there annually at 1400 provided a few yachts cruised on the Coast to keep out foreign competitors, in particular the traders of Cannanore, Purakkad, Kayamkulam and European nations, the Company was not at the outset so much concerned with this costly grain which they obtained in profusion from other regions. Its importance was rightly understood so that the Company wished to keep out other competitors. But hitherto they had not the right to do this, only the goods of the Indian merchants who carried goods to or took cargoes from Portuguese places could, according to the laws of war, be declared prize goods by the Dutch.

From the Malabar coast the Company asked annually about 1000 lasts of pepper which was to be purchased if possible as cheaply as at 10 to 12 reals in cash for 500 pounds. The spices and other commodities which were to be sold in exchange of pepper must yield the same prices as in Surat and Coromandel so that the trade of one place should not be injurious to the United East India Company from the trade of another settlement. Not only for a profitable pepper trade, but also because the support of the Malabar princes against the Portuguese was necessary for the United Company, friendship had to be preserved with the Malabar princes. In particular the princelings of Purakkad and Kayamkulam and the Queen of Quilon had offered their good services. Their trustworthiness was somewhat doubtfully regarded by the Company.

This pepper trade acquired greater importance for the East India Company when Palembang, one of their richest pepper houses, revolted. A punitive expedition had to be sent there and the supply of pepper from there stopped temporarily. The Malabar pepper again acquired greater value, the more so because now there was the possibility of forcibly eliminating undesirable competition and securing entirely the profitable export trade of pepper from Malabar

to Coromandel, Bengal, Hindustan, Persia and Mocha to the detriment of the Portuguese, but especially also of the Indian and Muhammadan traders. European merchants, naturally the English rivals in the first place, should likewise vacate the field.

During the most recent years, the English had displayed great activity in spreading on the Malabar Coast. To the north of the Malabar province they had already for a long time an establishment at Karwar. In 1658 and 1659 two new factories were established both under the presidency of Surat, i.e., on the Madura coast at Kayal close to Tuticorin and at Calicut. Kayal, a flourishing seaport at the time of Marco Polo, was in Portuguese times already declining through a shifting of the coast. The oldest establishment of the English at this place appears to have receded to a private English undertaking. The English arrived there after the capture of Tuticorin by the Dutch. The English were received kindly by the native population. Especially, the Indian merchants promised them a favourable trade.

The English agent, Robert Masters, was sent to Calicut in March 1659 to secure a cargo of red wood and cardamom. The Zamorin received the Englishman kindly and assured him that he could buy all the products of the land for reasonable prices. Masters could return to Surat with a fully loaded ship and the invitation of the Zamorin to establish a settlement at Calicut. The invitation was accepted. Two English agents were to stay at Calicut from where they hoped to expand their trading operations to other places on the Malabar coast like Cannanore. The Zamorin appears to have granted to the English a kind of trade monopoly, for Masters could lay his hand on every ship that traded at Calicut and in that harbour they did not hear of ships coming from places which had not made a covenant with the English. Not only at Karwar, but also at other ports and the more inland situated towns of the Bijapur kingdom, the English developed a great activity which assured them a certain portion of the trade along the West Coast of India proper. Thereby they could buy cargoes of pepper for England but in this way they spoiled the European pepper market of their Dutch rivals.

Only through a military occupation of the Malabar Coast could the United East India Company prevent the English penetration. The start which through the control of the trade in the Eastern Archipelago the English had over the Dutch was great as they had nourished the trade of India proper with their eastern trade. Now

that the Dutch had secured firmer footing in India proper, their position threatened to be fatal to the English advance. Envy and fear caused by the entry of money and European goods which were sometimes conveyed in large to small quantities filled the servants of the English Company. As the Dutch obtained absolute authority on the Malabar coast, it became impossible for the English to maintain themselves there unless they in time became masters of a fortified naval base which sheltered their navigation and provided them with favourable connections with the hinterland. England tried to acquire a share in the Portuguese heritage. Their help and declaration of friendship to the powerless and hard pressed Portuguese increased during these years very thickly—a policy which would finally lead to the cession to the English Crown of Bombay wherewith was laid one of the foundations of the British empire.

The Dutch who beheld this English interference with mixed feelings were firmly resolved not to allow themselves to be pushed behind and checked by the English. Therefore they would be vigilant and be on the sharp look out to remain master of the trade which they had acquired. Especially must the English be prevented from providing the Portuguese at Goa or other Portuguese fortresses besieged by the Dutch with weapons and further contraband. The English even allowed themselves to supply the Portuguese with contraband in Moorish ships which were purchased and loaded by them. This entailed a visitation of the English ships with these goods although the United East India Company would nevertheless prefer not to engage themselves in open hostilities with the English whose "glorious art" must as far as possible be respected. Commandeur Roothaas was ordered not to compel the English ships to lower their flags before the Dutch as such bravados only produced more bitterness. That the Dutch held the English outside the harbours as their enemies, they already took sufficiently amiss. Cochin and Diu were both fortresses to which the Portuguese attached great value. To the defence of both these places the greatest expenses were incurred by them. The resistance against the Dutch should decidedly be the greater there. Therefore the Dutch had plans, before the capture of Tuticorin to capture one of the less important forts of the Portuguese and they let their eyes fall on Ceylon or Quilon situated in the land of the Queen Signati, feudatory to the Travancore State. As has already been related above, this princess had made declarations of friendship to the Company. Both the Signati and the king of Kayamkulam had sought the help of the Company against the Portuguese.

The Signati offered to make room at Quilon for the Dutch and to give the pepper monopoly to the United East India Company. Further, the Queen of Kundara, to the south-east of Kayamkulam requested to be permitted to sell the pepper produced in her land to the Company at the usual price and to bind herself not to deliver this to any other. The king of Purakkad requested the Dutch to help him against the Portuguese to make himself master of Cochin. With a venture on the Malabar Coast, the United East India Company could thus reckon on allies. The choice for the capture of Quilon was perhaps in some measure determined by the fact that news reached the Dutch of the arrival of an Englishman at Quilon on a Moorish ship. This man had bought pepper in exchange of lead and sulphur and pretended that they were willing to establish a settlement. This Englishman must have been a certain Edmund Percival, a member of the ship *Welcome*. Coming from Mozambique the ship had touched Cochin and then connections were also established with Quilon.

The fort Quilon was particularly favourably situated in a prominent point of the Malabar coast whereby the Western coast possessed a natural defence in cliffs and rocks which rose as high walls from the sea. In olden times Quilon was an important port on the West coast of India, the Coilum of Marco Polo. The Portuguese had built the fort, were settled there and mixed with the native population. As in every Portuguese settlement they found within the fortified parts various churches and monasteries. About and inside the town grew very many cocoanut palms which furnished the inhabitants with a good means of existence. Quilon lay in a salubrious populous region.

But, before an expedition against Quilon was equipped, the blockade fleet under Roothaas appeared in front of the bar of Goa on the 20th September 1658 with 9 ships, the *Wapen Van Holland*, the *Sea Horse*, *Muyden*, *Tertholen*, *Hercules*, *Dolfin*, *Mars*, *Ter-schelling* and *Geldria* manned with 1069 head of select people. The despatch of reinforcements to the Portuguese had to be made impossible. Owing to the condition of defence on the coast it was scarcely possible to begin with the occupation in September. Although the Governor-General in Council had in 1657 sent the fleet as early as possible, the Portuguese nevertheless succeeded in receiving a helping squadron of three big galleons. Their attempts to break the blockade with their combined forces were unsuccessful and cost them two galleons. However, eight galleons were within Goa and would not only return with cargoes of Portugal whereby

the trade of the United East India Company was injured, but also attack and destroy the Dutch ships which passed along the Indian Coasts. And what plans could the Portuguese not cherish against the hardly pacified Ceylon?

As early as possible, Roothaas appeared in 1658 in front of the bar. However, this time also he was too late to hinder the coming in of a galleon from Portugal and a carrack that for some years was held up in Mozambique. But with all this it meant no huge perils to the Portuguese naval force after the heavy losses of the previous blockade in 1657-58. Rightly had Roothaas to keep his ships together as much as possible so that he might not risk being defeated if the enemy should sail with his own fleet. But it appeared that the enemy made no preparations with his ships for an attack. Therefore Roothaas embarked two ships of the fleet along the Coast to the south to cruise on enemy ships.

As the Dutch took care to keep together their naval forces, the smaller vessels, sailing close along the Coast, succeeded in moving in and out of the harbour of Goa without the Dutch ships preventing this and in consequence the Portuguese were provided with all manner of necessaries. To hinder this, Roothaas introduced new tactics for making small quick sailing yachts to work together with the bigger heavy warships. For this purpose, in addition to some small yachts mounted with 8 or 10 cannon which must hinder the *cafillas*¹ sailing in and out of Goa and besides could co-operate better against enemy vessels than the heavy warships: he also wanted rowing vessels mounted with 3 or 4 small cannon which could come closer along the Coast, move quicker than the big ships and cut off all supplies from and to Goa. As to this town was specially assigned the supply from outside, in particular the rice of Kanara, the Dutch hoped to reduce the Portuguese to great extremities.

In theory these tactics appeared very proper and the Dutch built great expectations on this. But a great difficulty for the Dutch was for these yachts and rowing vessels to be manned. The big war ships could not be depleted of mariners. Hence the Dutch took native rowers in service. These experienced at the hands of rough Dutch sailors such treatment that they showed little pleasure

1. A *cafilla* was a fleet of trading ships, Portuguese as well as Indian, which could sail a certain number of times along the Indian Coast under the convoy of Portuguese ships taking cargoes and bringing them to Goa.

in entering or remaining in the Company's service. Because of shortage of their own Dutch people, the Dutch tried to make prize of native and Portuguese ships so that the native sailors thus taken prisoners might be used as rowers. With these men there was no need of such delicate handling as with hired people although a crew consisting wholly of prisoners involved certain dangers of surprise attack and treachery. The Dutch hoped that in the long run the natives would become accustomed to them as to the Portuguese from whom they most often obtained more drubbing than food.

Covered by the fleet of Commandeur Roothaas in front of Goa, Admiral Rijcklof Van Goens sailed on the 28th November 1658 from Ceylon towards the Indian Coast with the war yachts, *Ter Goes*, *Workum*, *Schelvis*, *Bantam* and some smaller ships manned with the most select soldiers. On the 5th December Cape Comorin was passed and four days later the Dutch fleet anchored $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south of Quilon. A message was sent to the magnates of the land. Because no answer was received to this message the following day at sunrise in clear weather and not without resistance from the natives, the military forces consisting of 1,200 soldiers were put on shore. The Undermerchant Jurrian Blom went as ambassador to the princes of the land with the request that they should remain neutral in the fight between the Dutch and the Portuguese.

The natives permitted the Dutch the time to draw up in battle array on the spacious beach. As they then advanced in five squadrons each of four companies, there followed suddenly a fierce sally to prevent this march forward to the fort and the town. The attack happened through a troop of 3000 armed Nairs who had flocked together. Among these were found also some Topasses (Portuguese half castes). It now became clear what the profession of friendship on the part of the Malabarees was worth.

The Dutch learned here to know for the first time the fighting value and fury in combat of the Nairs, the militia of Malabar. The Captain who stood at the vanguard of the forces made them charge immediately. The Commander of the second contingent did the same. This drove the Nairs to flight. Van Goens immediately gave orders to the Commanders of the two hindmost troops to march closely and to be vigilant in the rear as the second attack of the Nairs from the three sides at the same time was expected. A fierce attack actually followed, but was repulsed this time also. The Dutch pursued the

fleeing Nairs, but the latter could escape in the adjoining crowded forest of cocoanut palms which stretched along the Coast and harass the Dutch the whole morning and mid-day without making them dare to move up to a great attack. Keeping them continually under fire, the Dutch knew in the end to enter the interior of the town without hindrance. After the Dutch army was split, Van Goens with a portion of his men climbed up the walls of the fort while his subordinate Commander marched into the other side through the gate of the town. The fort as well as the town seems to have been abandoned by the Portuguese. No small booty of weapons and ammunition fell into the hands of the Dutch, e.g., 15 metal pieces with appurtenances. The capture of the first fort on the Malabar coast cost them only 10 dead and 23 wounded. In Batavia, because of this victory, there prevailed great joy which expressed itself in thanks services in the churches and much firing of cannon from the fortresses and ships as signals of joy that the ears of the enemies were filled with them everywhere. A bow-shooter had his brain pan smashed therewith so that the brain gushed out, but fortunately he was alive retaining his full intelligence.

The natives offered peace, but Van Goens first asked back his messenger. Sharp threats were given out of a relentless action if this servant of the Company with his retinue did not return in good health. The whole land would be laid waste and the king's temple and palace would be set fire to. At the same time these threats could, Van Goens hoped, serve as a good example for the Indian princes in the surrounding regions, i.e., for the Raja of Cochin and the Naik of Madura. The princess of the land of Quilon, the Signati, offered in a courteous note her excuse. They had to deal with the Portuguese who had dwelt in their land for 150 years and would not let slip their protection over them. Besides, her subjects had heard so much of the valour of the Dutch that they would willingly for once balance a chance with them. But now it appeared that the Portuguese were having an unlucky time and they had fulfilled their obligations and they now considered it the time to deny their land to those people and to permit the Dutch to be there on such advantageous terms as they could come to an agreement on. Hostilities must therefore be stopped and no further violence should be done to her subjects.

After the Dutch messenger was back again safe, a provisional peace was concluded. This peace was confirmed by the contract

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of the 7th January 1659.² Hereby it was decided that there should be enduring peace between both the parties. Further, the town Quilon, the Portuguese gardens, grounds, houses and plantations which the Portuguese had pledged to the natives should be ceded to the United East India Company in full ownership provided they made the payments to which the properties were liable. The native Christians could continue to dwell in their houses and were liable to service to the United East India Company as they were to the Portuguese. No Portuguese priests or priests of mixed race might continue living in the land nor come into the land on pain of being banished for all time. No other European nation might trade in the land of the Signati. Both parties should assist each other reciprocally against each other's enemies. The Signati promised to deliver the pepper of the land exclusively to the United East India Company as they had before that time done to the Portuguese. No Indian vessels should sail without the pass of the Chief of the Dutch settlement. If the merchants in the kingdom of the Signati owed anything to the Company, they must pay it at a fixed time. If they did not do so, then the magnates of the land must demand payments and give satisfaction. Finally, there followed a specification of the passes, tolls and duties to be paid to the Company by the merchants. The Queen and her chief minister, the Bariatti Pillai, should annually receive a present from the United East India Company.

As already rumours had been circulating that the Portuguese were to reinforce themselves at Cochin, Van Goens sent Van Serooskercken with some soldiers on the yacht *Schelvis* to Cochin for occupying the river. Further Van Serooskercken must obtain the neutrality of the King of Cochin by the offer of a considerable present in cash (as much as 20,000 reals) and 3 or 4 elephants. Some days later Van Goens followed with the rest of the military forces while he left behind at Quilon only an assistant and some soldiers. Van Goens wasted no time in front of Cochin as the negotiations with the monarch of the land had yet made no progress and a landing would, in view of the reinforcements of the Portuguese and the anticipated enmity of the monarch and his Nair militia, be very perilous to the Dutch.

2. *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II, pp. 139-142, Colonial Archives, 1121, O. B. 1660, III, p. 268 ff. Copy of the articles of alliance between the Signati and the Company. 7th January, 1659.

Van Goens now steered to Cannanore so that, after capturing this small Portuguese fort, he might attack the fortress of Diu. To the Zamorin were sent declarations of friendship and proposals for a combined armed action against the common enemies, the Portuguese and the Raja of Cochin. The Zamorin promised help if the Dutch would take Cochin. In this way a wedge could be driven between Goa and Cochin.

Van Serooskercken whose diplomatic talents did not have the desired results in Cochin departed for his old station of Kayamkulam. From there he was at the same time to maintain surveillance on Ceylon. Meanwhile certain Dutch ships under the command of Captain Peter Wasch stayed behind in front of the harbour of Cochin awaiting the reply of the Raja of Cochin. They were as far as possible to hinder all ships coming into and going out of the harbour of Cochin and to acquaint themselves very well with the advantage of the situation of the place for a possible landing. If the answer of the Raja of Cochin was received, these ships were to follow the main forces to Cannanore as quickly as possible.

The Dutch who went for an audience with the Queen of Cochin had very little success. Only a Portuguese source gives us information on this matter. Not without resentful pleasure, the Portuguese noticed that the costly present of the Dutch was refused by her and that they had to turn back to their ship, their task unperformed.

On the 25th December 1658, Van Goens came in front of Cannanore. He caused Ali Raja, the Muhammadan merchant chief to be greeted. The latter permitted them a landing within cannon shot of the hostile Portuguese fort. The monarch of that land, afraid of the fury of the Portuguese, raised a large army of Nairs and was firmly resolved to prevent the landing of the Dutch in the land. A messenger of Van Goens was not received by this prince, the Kolattiri. Van Goens visited the coast and all was ready to risk a landing as the *Goudsbloem* (*Golden Flower*) appeared there from Batavia with the Job's news, the order of 30th September 1658, to suspend hostilities immediately and to send a portion of the armed forces to the Eastern Quarters for reinforcing the army there.

This news hit Van Goens like a thunderclap. His voyage, crowded with success was interrupted, and what bad consequences

could this not drag behind ! What impression must this make on the Indian princes, the Kolattiri and the Zamorin, and the Indian population ? In the Council which he summoned, the consternation was great as he read to them the order of the high Government. Indeed for two months, they were receiving the wages of the poor so that they might continue the voyage. But the order of Batavia had to be obeyed. They should not be responsible for a bad result. They decided not to capture even the small fort of Cannanore. Apart from the inevitable deaths and wounds that this should cost to the so indispensable soldiery, they could no more incur the inevitable enmity of the Indian population whose help they stood highly in need of securing by the continuous passes of the Dutch ships. Few sound reasons could be made to appear to be plausible to the Kolattiri and the Zamorin. For such a small matter as the Portuguese fort of Cannanore, the Company did not wish to offend the Kolattiri. At a more convenient time they should return with a greatly reinforced army.

Van Goens departed to Ceylon. His presence was more necessary here than in Surat while at the same time negotiations with the Naik of Madura had to be brought speedily to a good end not in the least because of the English intrigues. In Ceylon Van Goens' arrival appears to have been just in time to hinder a surprise attack by the King of Kandy on the lowlands possessed by the Dutch.

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The *Mādālā Panjī* and the Pre-Sūryavamsī History of Orissa

DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., PH.D., OOTACAMUND

Scholars who have dealt with the history of Orissa have naturally referred to the accounts of the *Mādālā Pāñjī* which is the Oṛiyā chronicle of the celebrated Jagannātha temple at Purī, Orissa. There are various versions of the *M.P.* usually conflicting with one another. It has not always been noticed, at least in Orissa, that the above characteristic of the chronicle detracts much from whatever value it may have as a historical composition. The *M.P.* claims to sketch the history of Orissa from the earliest times theoretically, but from the sixth century A.D. with a show of seriousness, down to quite recent times. But the Jagannātha temple was built by the great Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.)¹ and the *M.P.* chronicle prepared on behalf of the priests of this temple can by no means be regarded as a contemporary account of the Orissan history between the sixth and the eleventh century. Whether however the early part of the chronicle reflects any genuine tradition handed down from olden times is apparently a matter of investigation. Another matter of enquiry, if the chronicle was written at a particular date and was periodically supplemented thereafter, is no doubt whether this gradual growth can be attributed to specific dates with the help of manuscripts. Unfortunately a scientific study of the *M.P.* on the basis of the existing manuscript material was only rarely and imperfectly done, while a critical edition of the work was never attempted. Moreover, whatever small sober work has been done in this direction is almost completely ignored by the Oṛiyā writers on the history of their country.

The first three royal families of the post-fifth century history of Orissa (with special reference to the Purī region where the Jagannātha temple is situated), dealt with by the *M.P.*, are (1) the Kesarī dynasty, from the sixth to the twelfth century A.D., (2) the

1. J. A. S. B., Vol. LXVII, 1898, p. 328-31; J. O. R., Vol. XVII, p. 209 ff.

Gaiga dynasty, from the twelfth century to the fifteenth, and (3) the Solar dynasty, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Now the history of Orissa from the foundation of the Sūrya-vaṁśa or Solar dynasty by Kapilendra about 1435 A.D. is fairly wellknown. The chronology of the Sūryavaṁśis and their successors as found in the different versions of the *M.P.* are very often conflicting and erroneous, although the genealogy is fairly reliable. The accepted genealogy of the Sūryavaṁśis is as follows: (1) Kapilendra; his son (2) Purushottama; and his son (3) Pratāparudra. This is supported by the *M.P.* But the different versions of the *M.P.* are not unanimous in regard to the chronology of the three rulers. According to one version, Kapilendra, Purushottama and Pratāparudra ruled respectively for 32, 30 and 36 years, but according to a second version for 27, 25 and 28 years respectively, while a third version suggests that the reigns of the three kings fell respectively in the periods Śaka 1374-1402 (1452-80 A.D.), Śaka 1402-26 (1480-1504 A.D.) and Śaka 1426-54 (1504-32 A.D.).² But the actual reign-periods of Kapilendra, Purushottama and Pratāparudra are known to have fallen respectively in the periods, *circa* 1435-70 A.D. (about 35 years), *circa* 1470-96 A.D. (about 26 years) and *circa* 1496-1539 A.D. (about 43 years).³ This single fact would suggest that the present day versions of the *M.P.* were compiled even considerably after the Sūryavaṁśis of Orissa. When the *M.P.* is wrong in its chronology of the medieval Sūryavaṁśis, it is of course too much to expect correctness in its accounts of the earlier dynasties. It can be easily demonstrated now with the help of the definitely known facts of early Orissan history based on epigraphic evidence that the *M.P.* account of the pre-Sūryavaṁśi history of Orissa is hopelessly wrong both in regard to genealogy and chronology. As a matter of fact, no Kesari dynasty is known to have ruled in Orissa. More than half a century ago, when the reconstruction of early Orissan history from epigraphic sources was just at the initial stage, J. F. Fleet pointed out⁴ that the kings Yayāti Kesari and Janamejaya Kesari of the so-called Kesari-vaṁśa of the *M.P.* are no other than the kings Yayāti Mahāśivagupta I and Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta I of the Somavaṁśa or lunar dynasty of South Kosala and Utkala. These two kings are assigned by the *M.P.* to the sixth

2. See *Mādalā Pāñjī*, ed. A. B. Mahānti, introductory lists, p. 9.

3. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 289, 305; Sewell, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 373.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 335 ff.

and eighth centuries A.D.⁵ Actually however both the Somavaṁśi kings, viz. Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta I and his son Yayāti Mahāśivagupta I, flourished in the tenth century.⁶ Fleet showed the utter unreliability of the genealogical and chronological scheme of the *M.P.* and remarked that "everything relating to ancient times, which had been written on the unsupported authority of these annals, has to be expunged bodily from the pages of history". This view was supported by the independent researches of M. Chakravarti⁷ who pointed out that the texts of the *M.P.* are "found full of mistakes and cannot be relied upon unless corroborated by other evidence". Since Fleet and Chakravarti offered their opinions on the subject more than half a century ago, many new inscriptions have been discovered and we are in a better position to demonstrate the absurdity of the *M.P.* account of the pre-Sūryavaṁśi history of Orissa. About quarter of a century ago, R. P. Chanda⁸ made another serious attempt to determine the historical value of the *M.P.* accounts and ascribed their origin to the Mughal period. Our knowledge of early Orissan history has become fairly complete during the years that have passed since Chanda wrote on the subject. We now know that the Somavaṁśis (wrongly called the Kesaris in the *M.P.*) ruled lower Orissa from the eleventh to the twelfth century when they were overthrown by the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga. Before the Somavaṁśis, it was under the rule of the imperial dynasty of the Bhauma-Karas, who flourished from the ninth to the eleventh century, but about whom the *M.P.* is absolutely silent. Apparently the compilers of the *M.P.* were absolutely ignorant of the genuine events of Orissan history earlier than the tenth century. Before the rise of the Bhaumakaras, during the period between the fifth and the seventh century, the heart of Orissa was successively under the imperial Guptas, the Magadha, the Vīgrahas who were originally viceroys of the Guptas, the Mānas, the Gaḍgas and the Śailodbhavas. About 643 A.D. Orissa for a few years passed to Harshavardhana of Kanauj. The *M.P.* is naturally quite ignorant of these dynasties, although it claims to trace Orissan history seemingly with seriousness from the sixth century. There is hardly any doubt that the *M.P.* began to be compiled at a time when there were only faint echoes in the coun-

5. Mahānti, loc. cit., pp. 1-2.

6. I. H. Q., Vol. XXII, p. 307.

7. J. A. S. B., Vol. LXVII, 1898, Part I, pp. 376-79.

8. J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XIII, 1927, pp. 10-27.

trý of traditions regarding the past rule of some kings having names ending with the word *kesarī* (such as Uddyotākesarī and his successors of the Somavamśa) as well as of a few kings like Janamejaya and Yayāti.

That the *M.P.* began to be compiled long after the end of the Gaṅga rule in the fifteenth century is clear from the many unaccountable errors in its account of the Gaṅgas in regard to both their genealogy and chronology, although vague traditions regarding the rule of several kings of their dynasty must have been then prevalent in the country. It is also interesting to note that owing to the comparative proximity of time, the Gaṅgas were slightly better remembered than the earlier rulers. It is therefore rather strange that even at the present time there is some confusion in the minds of Oriyā scholars in regard to the historical value of the *M.P.* This is clear from the remarks of Professor Ārtta Ballabha Mahānti in the Oriyā introduction of his edition of the *M.P.* which is based mainly on three versions of the work and was published from Cuttack in 1940 under the patronage of the Government of Orissa. Professor Mahānti says, "From King Madana-mahādeva (who is fourth in succession from Choḍagaṅga according to the *M.P.*) to Mukundadeva I, i.e., from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, the accounts contained in the *M.P.* are quite true and creditable (*sampūrṇa satya* and *viśvāsa-yogyā*) (*op. cit.*, p. ii). The Professor also believes that the *M.P.* has been continuously written since a date following the reign of Chuḍagaṅgadeva, i.e., Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva, 1078-1147 A.D. (*ibid.*, p. iii). Unfortunately no arguments of any sort have been adduced in favour of such statements. I am sorry that the learned Professor did not care to examine the views of writers like Fleet, Chakravarti and Chanda, referred to above.

Of the three versions of the *M.P.* quoted by Professor Mahānti in his work, which may be styled A, B and C for the sake of convenience, A is older than B which is again earlier than C. This is suggested by the manner of their quoting the reign-period of particular rulers. Let us take up the case of the semi-mythical Yayāti Kesarī with whom the account of the seemingly serious portion of the *M.P.* begins (*op. cit.*, p. 6).

A—*e rājā bhoga kale va 57 rasa* (i.e., this king reigned for 57 years).

B—*e rājā bhoga kale a 84 ṅkaru va 68 rasa* (i.e., this king reigned for 84 Aṅka years corresponding to 68 actual years).

C—*e rājā bhoga kale va 52 rasa—Sa 448 kābda paryanta* (i.e., this king reigned for 52 years from Śaka 396 to Śaka 488, i.e., from 474 to 562 A.D.).

Apart from the hopeless discrepancy in the number of years in the three accounts, it is clearly seen that B exhibits an attempt at improvement upon A, while C exhibits a similar attempt to improve upon B. A speaks of the reign-period in actual years only; but B thinks that the reign-period should be given not only in actual years but also according to the Aṅka system of reckoning. We know that the Aṅka method of reckoning was introduced by the successors of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga and that it became popular long after that monarch's time. It is however not our intention to say that A had been compiled before the Aṅka system was known or popular, because the same A actually refers to the Aṅka years in connection with Yayāti Kesari himself (cf. *loc. cit.*; *e mahārājāṅka a 13 nke Kakarā-di 25 ne siṅghāsana biḥe karāile*). But it certainly shows that its compiler, in mentioning reign-periods only in actual years, offered an opportunity to the compiler of B to improve his account by quoting both actual as well as Aṅka years. Again C is seen to have improved upon both A and B by referring to the ending Śaka years of particular reigns. Of course there is no question of any genuine tradition involving the use of the Śaka era in a sixth century date in Orissan history coming down to the chronicler, as the use of this era was introduced in the country by the Greater Gaṅgas about the end of the tenth century A.D. But it shows that the compiler of C was eager to improve upon other versions of the M. P. by quoting the periods of particular reigns with special reference to the Śaka era.

What has been said above would show that of the versions of M. P., quoted by Professor Mahānti, A is the earliest. But we have seen how it refers to the Aṅka reckoning showing thereby that its compilation is considerably later than the time of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga who ended his rule about the middle of the twelfth century. Fortunately there is another clue in the language of A suggesting that it could not have been compiled before the end of Gaṅga rule three centuries later.

There is an interesting passage in A, quoted by Professor Mahānti at pp. 27-28 of his work. This passage forms a part of the description of one of the many Gaṅga kings named Anaṅga-bhīma, who is assigned a reign period of 27 years (*op. cit.*, p. 32). B and C also agree in ascribing the same length of reign to the

king in question, the former quoting 33 Aṅka years as corresponding to the said period and the latter equating the last year of the reign with Śaka 1124, i.e., 1202 A.D. (*op. cit.*, p. 34). Thus the above Gaṅga king named Anaṅgabhīma is suggested to have ruled from Śaka 1097 to Śaka 1124, i.e., in 1175-1202 A.D. The length of the reign recorded, viz., 27 years, seems to suggest that this Anaṅgabhīma is Anaṅgabhīma III who ruled for 27 years actually however in the period circa 1211-38 A.D.⁹ We have to note that tradition in this case seems to have a partially historical basis. But the more interesting fact about the description of this king, referred to above, is concerning its language and style.

The passage runs as follows: . . . *Śrī-navare bije kari mudala karāile a mudalara bhāshā Śrī-vīra Śrī-Gajapati-Gaūḍeśvara-navakoṭi-Karṇāṭa-Kalavaragesvara abhirāe bhṛita-bhairava dusahaduśāsana anīkaraṇe rāutarāe atula-bala-parākrama-saṅgrāma-sahasrabāhu-dhūmaketu Śrī-Anāṅgabhīmadeva-mahārājāṅkara vīrala a 15 ṅka Śrāhi Phaguṇa-śukla da 10 mī tat-kāla ekādaśī Guru-vāre Śrī-Purushottama-kaṭake Śrī-navara-dakṣhiṇa-ghare devārchhana-avakāśe abhinava-Yayātinagara-Vishṇu Śrī-pāda-mudale pura chaurī navare bāṅkiāre bije-samaya pāse pātra-paramahansa-vājapei-Dāmodara-purohita mahāpātra-Nīlakaṇṭha-rāeguru mahāpātra-Balabhadrapraharāja mahāpātra-Chaīni-pāṭayoshi mahāpātra-Dāmodara-panḍā pātra-Gaṅgādhara-panḍā pātra-Chakradhara-panḍā pātra-Vidyādhara-panḍā pātra-Jagannātha-panḍā pātra-Nīlakaṇṭha-panḍā pātra-Bhīmakara-panḍā pātra-Gopīnātha-panḍā pātra-Balabhadra-panḍā pātra-Purīdāsa-mīśra Jenā-Bararāe-Narasīnghadeo Ajayadeo parirāe-Anantadeo parirāe-Iśvaradeo parirāe-Satru-deo parirāe-Hariharadeo parirāe-Rāmadeo pora-pāñjīdhara-parikshā-Mithuni-panḍā pora-Śrīkaraṇa-Surūya-puranāyaka Māra-kaṇḍa-Mahāsenāpti samasta pātra khaṭanti | buṛhāleṅkā thāi thākure puruṇā hoi emanta boli tarapa karaile |*

The passage quoted above would interest any student of Orissan epigraphy owing to the similarity of its style with that of inscriptions and the use of certain expressions in common with medieval epigraphic records. The words *navara* and *bije* are Oriyā corruptions of Sanskrit *nagara* and *vijaya*, although the latter has been used in its modified Oriyā sense of 'presence', 'march', etc. It

⁹ Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 501. For the genuineness of a few other traditions regarding this king, see *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 39 ff.

is interesting to note that both the words *navara* as well as *vijaya* in its Oriyā sense are found in medieval Orissan records beginning with the copper-plate grants of Narasimha II (circa 1278-1305 A.D.). The word *mudala* is used in the sense of 'arrangement made or to be made according to order'. It is found in the same sense in the Purī plates Narasimha IV (circa 1379-1410 A.D.). It is however originally a Telugu word meaning 'order' and is found exactly in this original sense in the charters of Narasimha II and his son. The use of the word *mudala* in the modified Oriyā sense in the passage quoted above seems to suggest that it may have been composed sometime after the rule of Narasimha II. This suggestion is possibly supported by the use of the word *pāṣe* (Sanskrit *pārśve*) in the style of the charters of Narasimha IV and not of those of earlier Gaṅga rulers like Narasimha II and Bhānu II (circa 1305-27 A.D.). *Parīkshā* (Oriyā *parichhā*) is found in the earlier records usually under the form *parīkshaka* and only rarely as *parīksha*, but in the records of Narasimha IV usually as *parīkshā*. Designations like *Burhāleṅkā* are found in the charters of Narasimha IV but not in earlier records. Family names or official designations like *Parirūe* as well as the reference to too many Paṇḍās in the list of officials appear to suggest for the passage a date even later than Gaṅga Narasimha IV. The expression *pōra*, prefixed to the designations of *pāñjidhara-parīkshā-Mithuni-panḍā* and *śrīkaraṇa-Surūya puranāyaka* is found in the form of *puro* in the charters of Narasimha II and Bhānu II and in that of *poro* in the grants of Narasimha IV.¹⁰

From what has been said above, it would appear that the passage quoted from the A version of the M. P. could not have been composed much earlier than the fourteenth century. But more decisive in this connection is the king's title *Gajapati-Gauḍeśvara-navakoṭi-Karṇāṭa-Kalavargeśvara* (representing the

10. I have recently commented on many of these expressions in my articles on five grants of Narasimha II and one of Bhānu II. The Purī plates of Bhānu II and the first of the three sets of the Kendupatna plates of Narasimha II have been published in J. R. A. S. B. L., Vol. XVII, while the Kendupatna plates (sets II and III) of Narasimha II are being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I have also edited the Asankhali and Alalpur plates of Narasimha II, jointly with Mr. P. Acharya, in a paper contributed to the *Ep. Ind.* I am inclined to re-edit the Purī plates (B) of Narasimha IV. It is a matter of regret that Professor Mahānti never attempted to explain any archaic word occurring in the M.P. It is equally curious that the voluminous *Pramoda Abhidhāna* (Cuttack, 1942) does not recognise expressions like *mudala*, *pōra*, etc., although they are found in the M. P.

Gajapati or imperial ruler of Orissa as the lord of Gauḍa or Bengal, the Karmāta 9 crores, i.e., the dominions of the Vijayanagara emperors, and Gulbarga or the kingdom of the Bahmani Sultāns, of Gulbarga and Bīdar) which was introduced in Orissan history and epigraphy by the Sūryavamśis for the first time. It is thus quite clear that the description, in the earliest version of the *M.P.* consulted by Professor Mahānti, of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma who ended his rule in the first half of the thirteenth century could not have been composed until considerably after the foundation of the Sūryavamśa two centuries later. There is therefore hardly any doubt that even the account of the Gaṅgas in the *M.P.* was compiled long after the end of Gaṅga rule in Orissa. This account again seems to be based on traditions, only rarely genuine, about certain Gaṅga kings, which were prevalent in the country at a later period and not on any definitely reliable source such as a written document.

To demonstrate the conflicting and absolutely unreliable nature of the *M.P.* evidence in regard to the genealogy and chronology of the so-called Kesarī dynasty and the imperial Gaṅga family (beginning with Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga), it is only necessary to quote Professor Mahānti's list of these kings given in the introductory part of his work side by side with that of the kings of the heart of Orissa (the *M.P.* being especially concerned with the Purī region), who are known to have actually reigned in the period concerned.

MĀDALĀ PĀÑJĪ

Keśarī Dynasty

(From the sixth to the twelfth century)

1. Yayāti, 57 or 68 or 52 years or up to Śaka 448 (526 A.D.).
2. Sūrya, 30 or 26 or 57 years or up to Ś. 505 (583 A.D.).
3. Ananta, 14 or 24 or 40 years or up to Ś. 545 (623 A.D.).
4. Lalāṭa, 40 or 54 or upto Ś. 599 (677 A.D.).
5. Kanaka, 24 or 17 or 16 years or upto Ś. 615 (693 A.D.).
6. Nara or Ananta, 13 or 18 or 8 years or upto Ś. 623 (701 A.D.).
7. Gaṅga or Padma, 25 or 19 or 5 years or upto Ś. 628 (706 A.D.).
8. Vṛiddha or Dhruva, 40 or 9 years or upto Ś. 637 (715 A.D.).
9. Vaṭa, 26 or 15 or 11 years or upto Ś. 648 (726 A.D.).
10. Gaja or Rāja, 25 or 12 years or upto Ś. 660 (738 A.D.).

11. Vasanta, 2 years or upto Ś. 662 (740 A.D.); not mentioned in all versions.
12. Gandharva or Kṛishṇa, 17 or 14 years or upto Ś. 676 (754 A.D.).
13. Janamejaya or Gaṇa, 14 or 9 or 8 years or upto Ś. 685 (763 A.D.).
14. Bharatha, 25 or 15 years or upto Ś. 700 (778 A.D.).
15. Kavi, 27 or 12 or 14 years or upto Ś. 724 (802 A.D.).
16. Kāma, 24 or 16 or 19 years or upto Ś. 733 (811 A.D.).
17. Kosala, 25 or 18 years or upto Ś. 751 (829 A.D.).
18. Chaṇḍa, 17 years or upto Ś. 768 (846 A.D.).
19. Prachāṇḍa, 15 or 19 years or upto Ś. 787 (865 A.D.).
20. Dhruva or Dhurma or Amṛita, 22 or 10 years or upto Ś. 797 (875 A.D.).
21. Vijaya, 22 or 10 or 15 years or upto Ś. 812 (890 A.D.).
22. Chaṇḍapāla, 18 or 12 or 14 years or upto Ś. 826 (904 A.D.).
23. Madhsūdana, 12 or 10 or 16 years or upto Ś. 842 (920 A.D.).
24. Dharma or Bhauma, 27 or 19 or 10 years or upto Ś. 852 (930 A.D.).
25. Jaya, 30 or 7 or 11 years or upto Ś. 863 (941 A.D.).
26. Nṛipa, 19 or 14 or 12 years or upto Ś. 875 (953 A.D.).
27. Makara or Markata, 5 or 6 or 14 years or upto Ś. 889 (967 A.D.).
28. Tripura or Ghaṭa, 18 or 10 years or upto Ś. 899 (977 A.D.).
29. Mādhava or Madana, 14 or 12 years or upto Ś. 911 (989 A.D.).
30. Govinda, 8 or 7 or 10 years or upto Ś. 912 (990 A.D.).
31. Nṛitya or Anaṅga, 14 or 6 years or upto Ś. 935 (1013 A.D.).
32. Narasiṁha, 12 or 11 years or upto Ś. 946 (1024 A.D.).
33. Kṛishṇa or Rāma, 18 or 10 or 6 years or upto Ś. 956 (1034 A.D.).
34. Gokaṇṇa, 15 years; not mentioned in all versions.
35. Machchha, 17 or 8 or 16 years or upto Ś. 972 (1050 A.D.).
36. Varāha, 21 or 14 or 15 years or upto Ś. 987 (1065 A.D.).
37. Vāmana, 13 years or upto Ś. 1000 (1078 A.D.); not mentioned in all versions.
38. Paraśu or Rāja, 2 or 17 years or upto Ś. 1002 (1080 A.D.).
39. Chandra, 15 or 6 or 12 years or upto Ś. 1014 (1092 A.D.).
40. Sujana or Yadu, 8 or 7 years or upto Ś. 1021 (1099 A.D.).
41. Mālatī or Bhuvana, 9 or 5 years or upto Ś. 1026 (1104 A.D.).

42. Purañjaya or Bhīma, 3 or 8 years or upto Ś. 1029 (1107 A.D.).
43. Vasukalpa or Lakshmaṇa, 12 or 7 years or upto Ś. 1041 (1129 A.D.).
44. Indra or Ghaṭa, 3 or 4 or 5 years or upto Ś. 1045 (1123 A.D.).
45. Dhruva or Vasanta, 1 year; not mentioned in all versions.
46. Śūnya, 3 or 9 years or upto Ś. 1054 (1132 A.D.); not mentioned in all versions.

Gaṅga Dynasty

1. Chudagaṅga, 62 or 24 or 20 years or upto Śaka 1074 (1152 A.D.).
2. Gaṅgeśvara, 9 or 12 or 14 years or upto Ś. 1088 (1166 A.D.).
3. Ekajaṭā Kāma, 7 or 12 or 5 years or upto Ś. 1093 (1171 A.D.).
4. Madana-Mahādeva or Rājarājeśvara, 15 or 26 or 4 years or upto Ś. 1097 (1175 A.D.).
5. Anaṅgabhīma, 27 years or upto Ś. 1124 (1202 A.D.).
6. Rājarājeśvara or Bhīmasena, 10 or 35 or 25 years or upto Ś. 1159 (1237 A.D.).
7. Lāṅgulā Narasiṃha, 26 or 18 or 45 years or upto Ś. 1204 (1282 A.D.).
8. Kavi or Vira Narasiṃha, 25 years or upto Ś. 1229 (1307 A.D.).
9. Pratāpa Narasiṃha, 31 or 20 years or upto Ś. 1249 (1327 A.D.).
10. Kavikānta or Kavikānta Narasiṃha or Virakharakāla Narasiṃha, 1 or 2 or 9 years or upto Ś. 1251 (1329 A.D.).
11. Kajalā or Sakhi Narasiṃha, about 1½ months or 1 year or upto Ś. 1252 (1330 A.D.).
12. Śaṅkhabhānu Narasiṃha, 17 or 7 years or upto Ś. 1259 (1337 A.D.).
13. Niśaṅka Bhānu, 16 or 24 years or upto Ś. 1283 (1361 A.D.); not mentioned in all versions.
14. Balī Bhānu, 26 or 21 years or upto Ś. 1304 (1382 A.D.).
15. Vira Bhṣnu, 2 or 12 or 19 years or upto Ś. 1323 (1401 A.D.).
16. Kali Bhānu, 14 or 10 or 13 years or upto Ś. 1336 (1414 A.D.).

17. Akaṭā-abaṭā Bhānu, 14 or 30 or 15 years or upto Ś. 1351 (1429 A.D.).
18. Matta Bhānu, 23 or 14 years or upto Ś. 1374 (1452 A.D.).

SOBER HISTORY OF ORISSA

[Based on epigraphic sources]

(Sixth and seventh centuries)

The Imperial Guptas; their Viceroys who later became independent rulers; the Mānas; the Gauḍas and the feudatories of the Gauḍa kings; Harshavardhana.

Prithivivigraha, Gupta year 250 (569 A.D.).

Lokavigraha, G. 280 (599 A.D.).

Śambhuyaśas, G. 260 (579 A.D.); G. 283 (602 A.D.).

Śasāṅka of Gauḍa (circa 605-25 A.D.).

Harshavardhana of Kanauj in Orissa, circa 643-47 A.D.

Sailodbhava dynasty

(From the seventh to the ninth century in the Puri area)

1. Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa, circa 610-65 A.D.
2. Ayaśobhīta Madhyamarāja I, son of No. 1; circa 665-95 A.D.
3. Dharamarāja Mānabhīta, son of No. 2; circa 695-730 A.D.
4. Madhyamarāja II, son of No. 3, circa 730-50 A.D.
5. Raṇakshobha, son of No. 4; circa 750-70 A.D.
6. Allaparāja, son of the paternal uncle of No. 5; circa 770-800 A.D.
7. Madhyamarāja III, circa 800-835 A.D.

Bhauma-Kara dynasty

(From the ninth to the eleventh century)

(The era used by these kings started from 831 A.D. See I.H.Q., Vol. XXIX, pp. 148-55.)

1. Lakshmīkara or Kshemaṅkara. (They may be two different persons also.)
2. Śivakara I Unmaṭṭasīmha Bharasaha, son of No. 1.
3. Śubhākara I, son of No. 2.
4. Śivakara II, son of No. 3.
5. Śāntīkara I Gayāḍa, son of No. 3; year 93 (924 A.D.).
6. Śubhākara II, son of No. 4; year 100 (931 A.D.).

7. Śubhākara III Kusumahāra Simhadvaja, son of No. 5; year 103 (934 A.D.).
8. Tribhuvanamahādevī, mother of No. 7; year 120 (951 A.D.).
9. Śāntikara II Gayāḍa Loṇabhāra, son of No. 7.
10. Śubhākara IV Kusumahāra, son of No. 9; year 145 (976 A.D.).
11. Śivakara III Lalitahāra, son of No. 9; year 149 (980 A.D.).
12. Prithvīmahādevī *alias* Tribhuvanamahādevī, wife of No. 10, year 158 (989 A.D.).
13. Śāntikara III, son of No. 11.
14. Śubhākara V, son of No. 11.
15. Gaurī, wife of No. 14.
16. Daṇḍimahādevī, daughter of Nos. 14-15; years 180 (1011 A.D.), 187 (A.D.).
17. Vakulamahādevī, wife of No. 14.
18. Dharmamahādevī, wife of No. 13.

Soma-varṇśa or Lunar dynasty

(From the eleventh to the twelfth century in Lower Orissa)

1. Śivagupta.
2. Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta I (*circa* 935-70 A.D.); son of No. 1.
3. Yayāti Mahāśivagupta I (*circa* 970-1000 A.D.); son of No. 2.
4. Bhīmaratha Mahābhavagupta II (*circa* 1000-15 A.D.); son of No. 3.
5. Dharmaratha Mahāśivagupta II (*circa* 1015-20 A.D.); son of No. 4.
6. Nahusha [Indraratha Mahābhavagupta III] (*circa* 1020-25 A.D.), son of No. 4.
7. Chaṇḍihara Yayāti Mahāśivagupta III (*circa* 1025-60 A.D.); first ruler of lower Orissa, great-grandson of No. 2.
8. Uddyotakesarī Mahābhavagupta IV (*circa* 1060-80 A.D.); son of No. 7.
9. Karnakesarī (*circa* 1080-95 A.D.).
10. Viravarakesarī (*circa* 1095-1105 A.D.).
11. Raṇakesarī (*circa* 1105-10 A.D.).
12. Abhimanyu of Kosala, *circa* 1080-1105 A.D.
13. Someśvara of Paśchima-Lanḱā, *circa* 1105-1115 A.D.]

Gaṅga Dynasty

(From Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga)

1. Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, circa 1078-1147 A.D.
2. Kāmārṇava, circa 1147-56 A.D.; son of No. 1.
3. Rāghava, circa 1156-70 A.D.; son of No. 1.
4. Rājarāja I, circa 1170-90 A.D.; son of No. 1.
5. Anaṅgabhīma II, circa 1190-96 A.D.; son of No. 1.
6. Rājarāja II, circa 1196-1211 A.D.; son of No. 5.
7. Anaṅgabhīma III, circa 1211-38 A.D.; son of No. 6.
8. Narasimha I, circa 1238-64 A.D.; son of No. 7.
9. Bhānu I, circa 1264-78 A.D.; son of No. 8.
10. Narasimha II, circa 1278-1305 A.D., son of No. 9.
11. Bhānu II, circa 1305-27 A.D.; son of No. 10.
12. Narasimha III, circa 1327-52 A.D.; son of No. 11.
13. Bhānu III, circa 1352-78 A.D.; son of No. 12.
14. Narasimha IV, circa 1379-1410 A.D., son of No. 13.
15. Bhānu IV, circa 1410-35 A.D.; son (?) of No. 14. He was overthrown or succeeded by the founder of the Sūryavamśa.

It will be seen from the above lists that while the chroniclers had scarcely any knowledge at all of the history of Orissa prior to the conquest of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga about the beginning of the twelfth century, they had some vague information about the Gaṅgas. The account of the so-called Kesari dynasty is no doubt entirely fabricated on the basis of the very vague echo of traditions regarding past kings having names ending with *kesari* and including a Yayāti and a Janamejaya. The great number of omissions and commissions in the account of the Gaṅgas (especially the curious multiplication of the Narasimhas and Bhānus wrongly placed one after another) can be clearly seen from a comparison of the *M.P.* list with the authentic list quoted side by side. The relations that the Gaṅga kings mentioned in the *M.P.* bore to one another have been given in the work although they have not been indicated in the list compiled by Professor Mahānti and quoted by us. It may be summarily pointed out that the indications of the *M.P.* in this connection are opposed to epigraphic evidence and are absolutely unhistorical. A word may be said here about the list of the Kesari and Gaṅga kings compiled by Professor Mahānti from the different versions of the *M.P.* and quoted by us above. By comparing it with the text of the *M.P.* versions quoted by the Professor, I have found some inaccuracies. But it is needless to

point them out in detail as the lists themselves are hardly of any real importance to the students of history.

Before conclusion, it may further be pointed out that the M.P. traditions regarding the Gaṅgas are of the nature of folklore. This is clearly seen from various passages, especially from the accounts of Choḍagaṅga and of his occupation of Orissa, quoted (from A) by Professor Mahānti at pp. 21 ff. of his work. The utter absurdity of these legends will be apparent to anybody who will care to compare them with the definitely established facts about this king that have been gathered from epigraphic sources. The chroniclers did not know that Choḍagaṅga described as *rāṇḍī-pua*, i.e., a poor widow's son, was himself a powerful ruler with his capital at Kalinga-nagara (modern Mukhalingam near Chicacole or Śrīkākulam) before his conquest of Orissa and that his immediate predecessors were mighty monarchs. It may be noted in this connection, that *rāṇḍī-pua* Anantā (cf. *Pramoda Abhidhāna*, s.v.) is famous in Oṛiyā folklore as the only worthless son of a poor Brāhmaṇa widow. The washerwoman called Netei, introduced in Choḍagaṅga's story, is wellknown in Bengali folklore of the late medieval period as Nityā or Nitāi. The mention of a Paṭhāṇa (i.e., a Pushtu-speaking Musalman) in the same context is again extremely suspicious and suggestive of a late date of the composition. It is unnecessary to take the readers' time by further demonstration of the nature of what one may call a mere *farrago* of legends and myths of no authority. R. P. Chanda is no doubt quite right when he says, "as the foreigners who invaded Orissa in the fifth century A.D. are called Mughals (in all the versions of the M.P.), it may be safely concluded that the sections relating to the pre-Mughal period of these texts were first compiled in the Mughal period".

The Iconic Development of the Early Tamils

BY

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Early religion in India was restricted to certain totemistic beliefs. The idea of a dark grove or forest (*kāvu*) exerted a profound uncanny influence upon the people as also the natural phenomena like thunder and rain. Later, cult objects and fetishistic figurines mostly of terracotta came into existence and these slowly developed into plastic forms which received impetus in the wake of the plastic representations that were being evolved in the north in the late Mauryan period. The Nāga cult particularly was popular all over India. When the Aryan cultural traits infiltrated into South India, the eclecticism of the Tamils led to an assimilation of unsystematised and systematised cults and this marked a stage of religious stabilisation in the country. Nāga cult was extensively adopted in the south. It was attributed to Murugan, the hill God (the Kārttikēya of the Aryans). It had well known associations also with Śiva, Vishnu and even Buddhists and Jains adopted it. In the Tamil country there existed already in the early times a crude pantheon related to the five-fold geographical division of the country into Kuriñji (hill tract), Mullai (pastoral tract), Mārudam (the plains), Neydal (coastal tract) and Pālai (desert). Each had its own specific God such as Murugan (Śēyōn), Māyōn, (Kaṇṇan), the Sky God, the Sea God and Korāvai respectively. No iconic fixation had been attempted at this stage.

When the Aryan cults migrated into the Tamil country, the indigenous gods mentioned above were identified with their Aryan counterparts so that Māyōn became Kṛṣṇa-Vishṇu, Śēyōn or Murugan became Subrahmaṇya, the Sea God was Varuṇa, the Sky God Indra and Korāvai was easily equated with Durgā.

In early Tamil works like *Agam* and *Puram* (Sangam works of about the 2nd century A.D.) Śiva is referred to occasionally—associated usually with the banyan tree—as Tripurāntaka,¹ Neela-kantha² etc. Śiva, Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa and Murugan are described

1. *Puram*, 55 ll. 1-5.

2. *Puram*, 91 ll. 5-6.

on one occasion with their respective weapons and features.³ Śiva is spoken of as riding on his bull, with matted locks blazing like fire, with his battle-axe and blue throat; Balarāma is described as having a body of chank-white colour with a plough and a palmyrah banner; Kṛṣṇa as having a blue complexion holding aloft a bird banner (Garuḍa) and Subrahmanya as having red colour and mounted on a peacock. Kṛṣṇa is referred to in a few places. Rāma is alluded to once in Agam⁴ and once in Puram,⁵ in which certain incidents in Rāmāyana are mentioned. In the later group of the Ten Idylls (Pattu-p-pāṭṭu) ascribable to about the 5th-6th centuries A.D., Viṣṇu as Trivikrama⁶ is mentioned and at another place in the same, Sūrya⁷ with seven horses yoked to his chariot is mentioned. In Tirumurugārūpaḍai (6th century A.D.) devoted to Murugan, Śiva as Ardhanārī and as Tripurāntaka are mentioned.⁸ In the great Tamil epic Śilappadikāram⁹ itself (5th century A.D.), the two Viṣṇu shrines at Srirangam and Vēṅgaḍam (Tirupathi) are described, whereas, in Agam, Vēṅgaḍam is mentioned as belonging to both Tirayar and Kaḷḷar, but no mention is made of the temple on it. At Śilappadikāram time, the shrine was sufficiently famous as to evoke the appellation Neḍiyōṅkunram (the hill of Viṣṇu) by its author. Further the Āyccchiarakuravai (about the episodes in Kṛṣṇa's Avatar) of the same epic, the clearly Sanskrit names like Mādhavi, Vasantamālai, Bhavakāriṇi etc. occurring in this epic all indicate the gradual assimilation of the Aryan culture into the indigenous one.

The spirit behind image worship in India seems to have an antiquity which is pre-Buddhist, coeval perhaps with the prevalence of yogic practices to which Buddha himself was initiated in the early stages of his quest after self-knowledge. The actual worship of icons may have become established by the time of Patañjali, the author of Mahābhāṣya and the great exponent of the yogas, whose date has been assigned to 2nd century B.C. It is with the dawn and spread of Bhakti cult that a well constituted assemblage

3. Puram, 56, ll. 1-8.

4. Agam 70 ll. 13-16.

5. Puram, 378, ll. 18-21.

6. Muḷlaipāṭṭu, ll. 1-3.

7. Kurinjpāṭṭu, ll. 215-216.

8. Tiru., ll. 150-156.

9. Śilappadikāram, XI ll. 35-51.

of personal gods was found necessary. In Śwētāśvatara Upanishad¹⁰ is made the first mention of this Bhakti relationship. Even in South India we find that the Nāyanmārs, the Ālwars and Rāmānuja, even though they were cultured persons themselves who could have delved into the labyrinths of absolute Brihmagnāna, preferred to have this special medium of Bhakti to propagate their dear doctrines.

In Pāṇini's grammar, we find words like 'pratikriti' etc. and Patanjali's exposition of Pāṇini's Sutra (IV-3. 99) is specially important since it mentions a few of the gods like Śiva, Skanda, Vishnu whose images were being made for worship at this time and that Mauryas devised the method of filling royal coffers by selling images also¹¹ which would indicate a great demand for them. It is equally significant that none of these three gods mentioned is distinctly vedic in character.

The linga cult has almost been a pre-Aryan cult as we may glean from the Indus valley cult objects. In South India the linga of Guḍimallam seems to be the oldest of Hindu iconic sculptures. With marked similarity in portraiture and in the delineation of the drapery thereof to the Bhārhut figures, it has been assigned to the same age, with some margin for a southern spread i.e., the 1st or 2nd centuries A.D. Śiva is worshipped both in the form of the phallic symbol, an extremely exceptional type of which being mentioned above, as well as in anthropomorphic forms. Even in the case of the linga itself, oftentimes we find a tendency to anthropomorphise it, by supplying it with eyes, mouth etc. In lingas, we have many varieties, many of which are plain cylindrical ones with a convex top such as the achalas, or ashtōttaras with as many divisions on them marked or the dhara lingas of faceted ones, or the mukha lingas, i.e., phallic forms with divine physiognomy sculptured on them, which may be single or multiple. The pañchamukha linga has the five aspects of Śiva namely Īśāna, tatpuruṣa, aghōra, vāmadēva and sadyōjāta. The first, or the highest is not represented usually and the orientation of the faces relates to the four cardinal directions and the plan of the central shrine of the temple. All the four faces need not be carved; it may be three or two or one. A fine representation (7th or 8th century A.D.) of

10. Śwētāśvatara Upanishad, VI-23.

11. 'Mauryair-hiranyārthibhihi-Archā prakalpita'.

the three-faced Śiva is at Elephanta, in the so-called 'Trimurti' cave.

The main forms of Śiva as we see represented in the Pallava shrines of the Tamil country are Somāskanda (i.e., Śiva and Pārvati with the baby form of Subrahmaṇya in between), Umāsaḥita-mūrti, Gaṅgādhara, Dakṣiṇāmurti, Ardhanārī, Gajāntaka, Urdhvatāṇḍava etc. This shows how as early as the 7th century A.D. an iconic determination has been evolved and also how by that time Subrahmaṇya cult also has struck roots in Hindu iconography. But in the Pallava era Śiva and Viṣṇu images have not got isolated into water-tight compartments but actually the shrines and the sculptures of Viṣṇu and Śiva are found side by side at every place and the early Ālwārs (Vaishnavite saints) prior to Tirumaṅgai (8-9 century A.D.) sing in their hymns about the inseparable nature of Viṣṇu and Śiva godheads. As a matter of fact, the first Ālwār Poigaiyār (5th-6th century A.D.) gives an exquisite and clear conceptual imagery of the Harihara form.¹² Besides, such syncretisations or composite forms like Harihara, Ardhanārī, etc., had such wide repercussions that some waves reached as far as Jāvā and Cambōḍia where these and further composite forms like Śiva-Buddha and Bhairava-Gaṇēśa¹³ were also formed.

In the Chōla period a slight change of the religious atmosphere particularly in the outlook and activities of the Sivaite saints singing mainly in praise of Śiva took place and we have the appearance of the Lingōdbhava form. This form shows at one stroke the superiority of Śiva over Viṣṇu and Brahma, though in a mild manner. The Lingōdbhava sculpture took its place on the western (outer) wall of the main shrine of every Śiva temple from the Imperial-Chōla period onwards. Here Viṣṇu and Brahma, as boar and swan are depicted as if in search of Śivatattva and Śiva is shown exposed within a linga. But in the early Chola period, Viṣṇu usually occupied the central niche in the western (outer) wall.

It was in the Chōla period also that the division of the Śiva-mūrtis into Anugraha, Śānta, Nritta and Samhāra types was com-

12. Poigaiyār-pāsuram, 5 and 98.

13. There is a sculptural depiction probably of Bhairava-Gaṇēśa in low relief on the rock on the northern side below the Mahāstupa, near to an underground cave at Sankaram (Sanghārāma) a Buddhist site near Anakapalle. This figure may be much later to the occupation of the place by Buddhists and may indicate the presence of the Pāsupata cult there.

pleted. Thus Lingōdbhava, Chandraśekhara, Umāsahita and Somāskanda are of the Śanta type. Chandikeśa Anugrahamurti, of the Anugraha type, Natarāja of the dancing type and Gajāntaka, Kālāri, Bhairava etc., of the Samhāra or Aghōra types. In the late Chōla period, controversy and bickerings between Sivaites and Vaishṇavites for religious supremacy led to certain rabid sectarian representations of Śiva's greatness over Viṣṇu, like the Śarabhamūrti and Viṣṇu Anugrahamūrti at Dārāsuram and Tribuvanam temples and the depiction of Kacchapēśvara at Kacchapēśvara temple, Kānchipuram.

The Natarāja sculpture of Śiva is a class by itself. It is represented in the great Śiva temple at Chidambaram dedicated to this God. The Nataraja conception or the Lord performing the cosmic dance had probably been evolved in the Chōla times, as the earliest depictions in stone and metal belong to this period. There are five different types of this Tāṇḍavamūrti which have all been harmonised in the Ānanda Tāṇḍava. The Dakṣiṇāmūrti aspect of Śiva as an omniscient sage comprises essentially four different types namely the yōgamūrti (with knees high and crossed and bound by yōgapatṭa), Vyākhyāmūrti, Jñānamūrti and Viṇādharamūrti. The Dakṣiṇāmūrti icon is quite an early form, often occurring in the Pallava shrines and more frequently in the Chōla period. Of the four types mentioned above, the last one achieved a high water-mark of excellence in bronze in mediaeval times and the supreme elegance and slender rhythmic pose of this form, represents Śiva as a protector of art and letters. In the Gupta period (450-650 A.D.) of the north, at Ahichchatrā¹⁴ we have a Dakṣiṇāmūrti terracotta plaque. This has the requisites of Dakṣiṇāmūrti image namely the jaṭā, akṣhamālā and amritakalaśa and the sandarśanamudrā and probably represents a Vyākhyāmūrti.

Bhairava is taken to be the terrific form of Śiva and has the dual aspects of Bharāṇa (protection) and Bhīṣhaṇa (terrifying) as the name implies. He is supposed to have a flabby belly, round eyes and serpent ornament (as enjoined by the Viṣṇudharmōtara) as also Muṇḍamālā, canine side-teeth and many weapons. There are in main eight forms of Bhairava such as Vātuka, Atirik-tāṅga etc. He is not a very popularly worshipped deity since he has a dismal aspect unpleasant to contemplate upon, but is favoured by tantric worshippers. He finds a place generally in every Śiva

14. V. S. Agrawala—Ancient India, No. 4 p. 104-179.

temple of the later times in the Tamil country. One of the earliest specimens of Bhairava from North India is got from the brick temple of Śiva at Ahichchatrā¹⁵ ascribable to the Gupta period between 450-650 A.D. It is a terracotta plaque of Bhairava which would appear to belong, from the unconformity of its details with the later conventional icons of Bhairava in the south, to the formative period of Sivaite iconography in the north. The Aghōra-forms of Śiva like Bhairava came to the fore due to the tantric devotees of the Pāsupata and Kālāmukha cults of north, from Ahichchatrā and Lāṭa country and these when they came to the south evolved the Bhairava representation for their sādhanas, deriving inspiration from the Pratyabhigña school of Kashmir tantrics on the one hand and by the conception of loving self-surrender to God of the Nāyanmārs of the Tamil country on the other.

Veerabhadra is another terrific form of Śiva manifested at Daksha's sacrifice where he was uninvited. The erection of this image is generally supposed to possess great expiatory and curative effect upon the doer. Generally Veerabhadra image is depicted as standing on the prostrate figure of Daksha or the latter is represented in the form of a goatheaded man who along with his daughter—Śiva's spouse—stands by. There are beautiful representations of Veerabhadra at Tiruvenkāḍu (where He is a principal deity), Madura, and Ammankurichi image (now in Pudukkottai Museum) is also a fine specimen of it.

The earliest extant evidence of Viṣṇu or Bhāgavata cult is furnished by the Garuḍa pillar found at Besnagar, contemporaneous with Antialkidas and belonging to the middle of the second century B.C.,¹⁶ proclaiming Heliodorus—the ambassador of Antialkidas—who set up the pillar, as a Bhāgavata and the name of the God honoured by him as Vāsudēva. It is this early Vāsudēva cult which when it travelled south probably merged with the Kṛishṇa-Balarāma cult mentioned in the Sangam works and formed ultimately the basis for the Vaikhānasāgama of the early Vaiṣṇavaites.

In Viṣṇu images we have the standing, sitting as well as the reclining postures. He is the only deity that is represented in the Śayana pose. In the Vaiṣṇavism of the Tamil country, there are

15. Terracottas of Ahichchatrā V. S. Agrawala—Ancient India No. 4 p. 167 and pl. LXIII.

16. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 1 R. P. Chanda 1919.

two reclining gods worshipped, namely the *Vaṭapatraśāyin* *Bāla-kṛishna* and the *Anantaśāyin* *Nārāyaṇa*. In the latter either *Lakshmi* or *Bhudevi* is depicted as shampooing the legs of the God and *Brahma* is poised on a lotus sprung out of the navel of the God and two demons *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha* are shown in a defiant mood by the side. The sleeping pose is peculiar to the Tamil country and has a special name of *Raṅganātha* as at *Srirangam* near *Tiruchirāpalli* or *Padmanābha* as at *Trivandrum*. There is a fine early sculpture of *Raṅganātha* belonging to the early Pallava period at *Māmalapuram*. A special and rare type of *Vishṇu* seated on *Seshanāga* is *Vaikunṭhanārāyaṇa* where he is seated at ease (instead of reclining) on the narrowly piled up coils of *Sesha* whose hoods form a canopy above his head. A representation of this is found at *Nāmakkal* and belongs to the Pallava period. The hymns of the early *Āḷwars* also repeatedly mention the standing, sitting and sleeping poses of *Vishṇu*.

Among the incarnations of *Vishṇu*, the *Varāha*, *Narasimha* and *Trivikrama* had captivated the minds of the early *Āḷwars* and the people. The first two are half-human, half-animal forms and the third is the titanic form of the God. The *Varāha* incarnation has a few sculptural varieties like *Bhūvarāha* or *Ādivarāha*, *Yagñavarāha*, *Praḷayavarāha* etc., the first being the most popular. It is shown in the standing pose where one of the God's legs, usually the left, is kept raised and resting on *Nāgarāja* (representing *Pātāla*) and on the thigh of the raised leg *Bhūdevi* is seated with hanging legs and hands in *Anjali* pose and face towards the God, one of whose hands is put around the waist of the Goddess. A very fine sculpture of *Bhūvarāha* is found in the *Ādivarāha* cave of *Māmallapuram* belonging to the early Pallava period. There is a gigantic specimen of this God at *Udayagiri* near *Ujjain* in Central India, belonging to the Gupta period. A seated variety of this God, as a *Bhōgamūrti* with his two consorts is depicted in the temple at *Srimushnam* in South Arcot District.

The *Trivikrama* concept was a very favourite one with the early Tamils and recurs continuously in the hymns of the early *Āḷwars* (5th-7th century A.D.). Its remotest origin is in the Vedas themselves where God *Vishṇu* is described as having taken the three great steps as *Trivikrama* (*Trēdha nidadhē padam*). The *Trivikrama* icon is carved in three forms i.e., with the raised left foot (since invariably the right foot is shown as planted on the ground) reaching the level either of his own right knee or the navel or the forehead, conceptually denoting the God measuring the

earth, antariksha and the heaven respectively. But the first form is very rare. A beautiful example of Trivikrama of the third stage is found in the Ādivarāṇa cave at Māmallapuram belonging to the early Pallava period and an equally exquisite piece of the second stage is seen in the Daśāvatāra cave at Ellora.

The Narasimha concept has given birth in South India to some of the most vigorous pieces of sculpture comparable in quality and anatomical details to the Hellenic plastic art. Narasimha is represented in Yōga, Sthūṇa (in the pillar) and Ugra forms. The first has the utkuṭuka pose or knees bent crosswise and belted around by the yōgapaṭṭa. The sthūṇa type shows the God as emerging out of the kicked pillar (sthūṇa = tūṇ—Tamil) and is very ferocious in aspect. A vigorous representation of Narasimha killing Hiraṇyakaśipu is depicted in a panel sculpture at Kailāsanātha temple, Kāñchipuram belonging to the Pallava period. In Ahōbilam, Kurnool district, which is a Vaishnavaita centre, the God is Lakshminarasimha i.e., the stage after Lakshmi had intervened and brought down the tempo of his anger. This type of God is popular all over the south among the Vaishnavaites. In such a case, the Goddess is seated either by his side or on his lap.

Among Krishna images which are some of the earliest iconic ideas of the Tamils, the Vēṇugōpāla, Bālakrishṇa, Kāliyamardana forms are more popularly worshipped and these gained currency in the Chōla period. In most of these, the God has only two hands and wears Kirīṭamakuṭa, Channavira, Aṅgada (bracelet) and in the case of the last, Udarabandha also. An arresting sculpture of Krishna as Govardhanadhāri belonging to the Pallava period occurs in the Krishṇamandapa at Māmallapuram. A fine illustration, though of the mediaeval times, of the unusual pose of Krishna as Pārthasārathi occurs in the prakāra of the Kēśavaswāmi temple at Pushpagiri in the Andhra country.

Skanda is known by various names as Śaravaṇabhava, Guha, Subrahmaṇya, Kumāra, Kārttikēya, Tārakāri, etc. The most characteristic weapon he wields is Śakti and hence he is known as Śaktidhara. The worship of Skanda is as ancient as Patanjali's time as we have already shown. Later we see Kālidāsa making him the subject matter of his Kumārasambhava kāvya. We have a fine sandstone panel sculpture of Kārttikēya, seated on his peacock and wielding the Śakti or spear in one of his two hands, belonging to the Gupta period (6th century A.D.) coming from Uttar Pradesh, now at Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Benaras. During the Pal-

lava period we have numerous Sōmaskanda sculptures as at Māmalapuram. A post-saṅgam Tamil work Tirumurugārrupadai deals entirely with the six divine abodes of Skānda. One of the important forms of Skanda is as Guha or the Dēśika where he gives exposition, though yet a child upon the sacred Praṇavamāntra, to his own divine father Śiva. We have got these at Tirupalātturai and Kumbakōṇam, both in Tanjore district. We have an early specimen of a Kalyāṇasundara Subrahmaṇya at Tirupparankunram near Madura and of the Shanmukha at Paṭṭisvaram in Tanjore District. The earliest representation of Skanda and the earliest dedication of a separate temple to him was at Kaṇṇanūr (Pudukkottai State) belonging to the early Chōla period. Owing to his unique position as the symbol of Aryo-Draavidian synthesis, Murugan or Skanda has a large following both among the non-brahmins as well as the Brahmins of the Tamil country, more in the former group.

The popularity and importance of Gaṇapati, the pūrvaja to Subrahmaṇya is second to none in the Tamil country and any orthodox brahmin or non-brahmin invokes the blessings of this God before initiating any ritual or embarking on any literary, or artistic undertaking. He is the Lord of obstacles (Vighnēśvara) and is variously known as Hēramba, Ēkadanta, Lambōdara, Bālachandra, according to the different mythological episodes associated with him. We have the earliest examples of this God in the Pallava period in the devakaṣṭhas of temples but all the Pallava Gaṇēśas are invariably of the valampuri type i.e. with the trunk turned to the right. But generally the trunk of this God is shown as turned towards the left. He may be represented as sitting, standing or dancing. His weapons are the pāśa, aṅkuśa, daṇḍa etc., and he often holds on his right hand a Mōdaka. There are various types of Gaṇapati images like Hēramba, Bālaganēśa, Lakshmigaṇapati, Ucchiṣṭaganapati etc. In some of these, Śakti is seen sitting at his left, often on his lap. In the case of Ucchiṣṭa type, the proboscis of the God is resting on the private parts of the Goddess. This image has obviously some tāntric significance.

Hēramba has got five heads, four facing the four cardinal directions and one on the top. The God is seated on a ferocious lion. An example of this type in bronze, though belonging to the late mediaeval times, is at Nāgapaṭṭinam. We have a fine example of dancing Gaṇēśa in one of the niches at the Brhadiśvara temple, Gangeikondachōlapuram. Gaṇēśa, though apparently a celibate,

is invested conceptually with two spouses, Buddhi and Siddhi, begotten of whom are the offsprings kshēma and lābha. Thus he is the Lord of wisdom and prosperity. The Mōdaka in his hand is itself explained in Padmapurāṇa as the expression of 'Mahābuddhi'.

Ayyanār or Hariharaputra or Śāstā is essentially an indigenous deity of the Tamil country and very popular in south Tamilnad, particularly in Kērala, Tinnevely and Tanjore regions. He is not known to North India. In Kērala, every temple contains an Ayyanār or Śāstā shrine in the south west corner. He is supposed to be the guardian deity of land and his temples are usually situated on mountain tops as also on the bunds of irrigation tanks (as in Tinnevely district). That Śāstā seems to have had the same popularity with the early Tamils as now is seen by the fact that in the early grammatical treatises we find constant occurrence of the name Śāttān for a proper name used as the hypothetical subject of a sentence (just like 'this is the house that *Jack* built' of English grammar, or 'Dēvadatta' occurring in Sanskrit grammar). As for the puranic origin or association of the deity, the Bhāgavatapurāṇa and Suprabhēdāgama tell us that Śāstā was born of Mōhini—the form that Viṣṇu took during the churning of the ocean, to entice the Asuras—and Śiva who fell in love with the Mōhini form. Śāstā images are usually seated in padmāsana pose and armed with khadga and khēṭaka and when the image has only two hands the right hand holds a crooked stick (*śeṇḍu* in Tamil). He is also represented as riding on an elephant and is known on that score as Gajārūḍha. Some of the best known Śāstā figures are from Śāttānkōṭṭai in North Travancore, and Tiruppalāṭurai and Valuvūr in Tanjore district.

Jyeṣṭhā appears to have been worshipped, though by a minority, for a long time in Tamilnad from Pallava times upto about the 12th century, since we find references in literature and inscriptions to her. Her shrines were exempt, as were those of the seven pidāris or Saptamātrikas, from taxation as mentioned in early Chōla records. Tonḍaraḍippōḍi Ālwār, one of the later Vaishnavite saints deprecated the worship of this disreputable deity. She is mentioned in inscriptions and in other places as Tirukkēṭṭaikkilatti and Goddess of ill-luck. Tamil Nighaṇṭu has many names like Moodevi etc., for this minor goddess. She can be seen in some temples relegated to a corner and not worshipped or as in some cases 'pulled out of her pedestal'. She is considered as the elder sister of bounteous Lakshmīdēvi. Her vāhana is ass, weapon broomstick and banner-bird, the crow. She is usually depicted with hanging breasts, flabby

belly, a single knotted haid (She is thus called Ēkavēṇi) drooping lower lip and thick thighs. She is often accompanied by her bowine headed son and beautiful daughter at her sides. An early specimen of Jyesthā is found in Mylapore in one corner of the temple tank and held as belonging to the Pallava period, as also in Kumbakōṇam temple and Tiruvellavāyil temple. She seems to be essentially a non-Aryan deity who had latterly come into the Aryan pantheon as a minor manifestation of Śakti.

In contrast with this ugly Goddess, we have some inspiring representations of the Śakti group of goddesses like Saubhāgya-bhuvaneśwari as at Dārāsuram (late Chōla period), Rājarājeśwari, Tripurasundari etc. The worship of the latter two is usually associated with some mystic geometrical drawings known as Śrichakra or Śrīpiṭha. The most energetic representative of this female pantheon is, of course, Durgā or Mahiṣamardani, widely worshipped in India and who got equated in early ages with the indigenous korṟavai of the Tamil country. Her sculptures are some of the earliest found in the Tamil country (7th-9th century A.D.). At Māmallapuram, we have a huge awe-inspiring panel sculpture of Durgā on her lion killing Mahishāsura.

Another group of Mother goddesses is the Saptamātrikas, a group which consists of Brāhmi, Māhēśwari, Kaumāri, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhi, Māhēndrī and Chāmuṇḍā and are found with Gaṇēśa and Virabhadra on either side. These are typical of early Chōla period and extended sporadically upto the late mediaeval times.

All the village deities of Tamilnad which have, mainly, a protective role over people from diseases, epidemics etc., like Māriyammā, Ankāḷammā and others, though indigenous, found wider worship and iconic fixation through fusion of some sort with the Śakti group of goddesses mentioned above and continued, upto the present day, to be the objects of popular worship.

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Minto, Baillie and Saadut Ali, 1807-1813

BY

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IV

The next diplomatic trouble between Baillie and Saadut Ali centred in the person of a eunuch called Mohammed Tuhseen Ali Khan, Khaja Serai. Of this official the greatest recommendation was that at the time of Wazar Ali's deposition he had been the chief informant of Sir John Shore. As he was the Nazir of the Khoord Mahal (the Palace where the ladies of the household of the late Nawab Wazir Shujaud-dowlah were housed), and as this Khoord Mahal was situated in Fyzabad, the capital of the jagir of the Bhow Begum, this dispute brought in the dirty linen of the Oudh royal house to be washed in public. One finds, on looking through the original correspondence on this particular affair that the historian can easily be made to lose his way in the labyrinth of detail or a web of intrigue and false propaganda. For an impartial assessment of the truth in this matter, however, it is essential to by-pass the one and avoid the other.

At the time of his accession to the masnad in 1798, Saadut Ali had been made to grant a jagir near Fyzabad to the Bhow Begum. The jagir of Gonda he had also to give her, but that was for collection only and its yield was to be used in giving pensions to the ladies of the Khoord and Khass Mahals.²¹⁷ Upto this point all is clear. Tuhseen Ali Khan was then Nazir of Khoord Mahal, but the Bhow Begum was displeased with him. Saadut Ali, however, insisted that after collection, the yields of the Jagir of Gonda should be handed over to Tuhseen for distribution to the ladies of the palaces, and in this she acquiesced.²¹⁸ If and when there was any surplus money, after due distribution of the pensions, Tuhseen was in the habit of remitting it to the Royal Treasury of Saadut

217. Aitchison: *Op. Cit.* page 121 (Engagement of 7th Feb., 1798).

218. *Oude Papers: Op. Cit.* p. 279.

Ali as well as submitting all accounts to him.²¹⁹ This coupled with the fact that when any ladies of the Mahal died their funeral expenses too were paid by the Nawab-Wazir, convinced the latter that he was the sole guardian of the Mahals and had the authority in himself, for their management.²²⁰ That legally, as head of the family, he was their protector (waris) there can be no doubt; that morally he felt bound to look after the ladies of his father's household, we may be sure.²²¹ By 1812 a change was wrought: the Bhow Begum considered herself a protégé of the British Power, so also did Tuhseen himself. Both of them started having the feeling of camaraderie that comes out of a common allegiance. The Nawab-Wazir on the other hand was even in his helpless and powerless way uncompromisingly anti-British at heart. He was, naturally, also against any and all of his subjects who put their faith in British protection. Just about the same time the ladies of the Khoord Mahal raised a hue and cry against Tuhseen Ali. The Nawab asked Tuhseen to submit a plan for the improved management of the Mahal. This he failed to do. He was, therefore, summarily dismissed and the post was given to another person of the Nawab Wazir's selection.²²²

Baillie entered the arena at this stage as the avowed protagonist of Tuhseen. His approach to the problem was a bit too thorough. While demanding the re-instatement of Tuhseen, declaring that he was innocent of all the charges levelled against him by the ladies who agitated to see him ousted, because they in their turn had been tutored to do so by the Nawab-Wazir;²²³ he also declared that the management of the Khoord Mahal was out of the province of the Nawab's prerogative and that the British as guarantors of the engagement, which secured to the Bhow Begum the jagir of Gonda for the express purpose of the support of the Khoord Mahal, would do all they could to see her rights respect-

219. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 411.

220. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., pp. 273, 279, 430, etc.

221. Oudh Papers: Loc. Cit., pp. 447 and 453 (where the Khoord Mahal ladies ask him to respond to the call of his duty as their Wauris).

222. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., 272, 280.

223. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., pp. 268, 270, 273, 274-275; (categorical assertions of Baillie about his right to interfere and Bhow Begum's right to control the Khoord Mahal management; open allegations that disturbances are due to Saadut Ali's encouragement).

ed.²²⁴ Minto, as usual, was in complete harmony with the views of his representative. He supported him by a direct address to the Nawab-Wazir the gist of which was "Hands off the Khoord Mahal. Reinstatè Tuhseen and obey Baillie!"²²⁵

The Nawab-Wazir, the Resident and the Bhow Begum were all string-pullers in the sordid intrigues which now followed. The actors in this dirty drama were as well the victims of their own punch and judy show. There can be no doubt that in the disgraceful events that followed the blame for intriguing must be shared equally by Saadut Ali and Baillie.²²⁶ They were both trying to prove the correctness of their assertions by manoeuvring the occurrence of incidents. Tuhseen had to be, under inevitable and unavoidable pressure from the British Government, restored to his office of Nazir.²²⁷ The ladies of the Mahal rebelled against this, decided to leave the Mahal to make some token demonstration at Golab Basi (tomb of Shujauddowlah) and to repair to Lucknow to appeal personally to the Nawab-Wazir.²²⁸ They met with persecution and insults at the hands of officers who acted under orders of the Bhow Begum, who, in her turn, took her directions from Baillie.²²⁹ There was a storm in the tea-cup, as futile as it was nauseating. It subsided as aimlessly as it had brewed up. The net result was that Saadut Ali had to agree that he had no right in the management of the Khoord Mahal, which was the exclusive province of the Bhow Begum; Tuhseen had to be restored and the ladies were as miserable as ever.²³⁰ Of this, however, one can be sure that the Nawab-Wazir, true to his character, acquiesced only after seeing that there was no help, and after realising how determined the Governor General was to support each single action of

224. Oude Papers: Loc., Cit., page 275 (where the Resident says", Your Excellency's power and control over any branch of your household cannot be more absolute, under the terms of the Treaty of 1798, in their nature than your obligation to consult with the British Government and be guided by its counsels") Page 270 (where he emphasises the British guarantee of the arrangements).

225. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., pp. 285-286.

226. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. That they were both active intriguers, is clear from the Records. Refer pp. 457-461 for Saadut Ali's actions to incite trouble; and pp. 447-453 on Baillie's part in the dirty occurrences.

227. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., para 4, page 299.

228. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit pp. 448-453.

229. Oudh Papers: Loc. Cit: pp. 450, 452, the Resident therein referred to as a 'person of Authority'.

230. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 511.

his Resident. Even then he succeeded in making a fine art of his tactics of delay and evasion.²³¹

In the same sequence, seeing that the Nawab-Wazir had been intimidated, the grievances of the Bhow Begum against certain zemindars and Amils of the Nawab-Wazir were brought forth.²³² They were also, in spite of the feeble resistance of Saadut Ali, decided in her favour and she got some nineteen villages, which had been the bone of contention for a long time, as well as all the other advantages that she claimed.²³³

Our narrative of this none-too-happy episode cannot be complete without mentioning the death of Tuhseen. He died on August 27, 1813, of old age and exhaustion.²³⁴ While he was on his death-bed he made a will and nominated Major Baillie as his executor. He was a Hindu-convert and a slave of the Nawab-Wazir. His property, therefore, under the customary law of Oudh, was liable to escheat by the sovereign. His brother's family was not converted, they had remained Hindus. That family was represented by two small boys, the grand-sons of Tuhseen's elder brother. Now he bequeathed all his property to them. He made some grants of pensions etc., to some of his faithful servants too.²³⁵ This he was not entitled to do (a) because, under Muslim Law a person suffering from 'Marz-ul-Maut' (i.e., on his death-bed) cannot make a bequest of more than one-third of his property, (b) because, a Muslim convert cannot make his relatives who are not Muslims, his heirs,²³⁶ (c) fundamentally, as a slave, he had no testamentary rights at all.²³⁷

231. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 278 [His attitude in the beginning was "..... the discussion of such subjects as this is extremely unpleasant to me" and "it (guarantee of the British Govt.) cannot circumscribe or render nugatory my hereditary rights and authorities over my own household."] In correspondence pp. 272-281, 287-290, in discussions pp. 411-423, and renewed correspondence pp. 455-456, Saadut Ali was difficult to grapple, elusive; and bowed only when the extrañeous pressure had brought him to breaking point.

232. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., pp. 473, 474-475, 493-495, 495-497. The Anil of Bahraich, Raja Gungole of Bahraich, Luchman Pershad Amin, Buhwar Singh, Zemindar of Buhwareh etc., were particularly reported.

233. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 511 (Minto expresses satisfaction on the end of all these troubles, in his letter to Saadut Ali) p. 512. (He expresses satisfaction in his letter to the Bhow Begum).

234. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., pp. 525-526.

235. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., pp. 521-523.

236. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 525-526.

237. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 527.

Baillie, even before Tuhseen's death, had referred the question to the Supreme Government. Minto's decision was that the letter of the law was to be shelved in this case, in view of the exceptional circumstances and the meritorious service of Tuhseen. The only consideration which prompted him to take this decision was the desire to get Tuhseen's last wishes respected.²³⁸ This decision was one of the last on Oudh affairs, made in the Governor Generalship of Minto. It shows to what lengths this nobleman could go in supporting his subordinates and those whom he considered his or his government's dependants. His successor Lord Moira, in whose times later this dispute on Tuhseen's will was settled, did not take such a vigorous radical stand. The Nawab was allowed to resume Tuhseen's property,²³⁹ which, one feels sure, would not have been allowed to happen if Minto was at the helm of affairs when the question came for final settlement.

In July 1813, Baillie went to Fyzabad²⁴⁰ and made some arrangements about the valuables and property of the Bhow Begum, which were remarkable, one may say unique, in character; and we ought to have noticed them in some detail here had they been placed for ratification before Lord Minto and had we known his comments and views on the topic. As it was, Moira was at the head of the government at Fort William by the time this came up. Suffice it to say here that in this case too, the British Government, through its Resident, became a guarantor for a future arrangement for the payment of a large number of pensions, the custodian of her treasures and jewellery, and an executor of the Bhow Begum's last will and testament.²⁴¹

If the case of the Bhow Begum was full of intriguing complications, Bhabi Begum's (i.e., that of Shamsunissa Begum—the widow of the late Nawab-Wazir Asafuddowla) was absolutely straight but full of psychological interest. She was the daughter of Nawab Intizamuddowla, Bakhshi-i-Mumalik, Khan-i-Khanan, and the grand daughter of the famous Wazir-ul-Mumalik Asafjah Etemad-ud-dowla Nawab Meer Kamaruddin Khan Nusrat Jang.²⁴² and was, therefore considered to be 'the descendant of ancestors

238. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 526-527 (Paras 3 and 4).

239. Oudh Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 600-602.

240. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., para 1, p. 527.

241. Aitchison: Op. Cit., pp. 143-157.

242. Oude Papers: Op. Cit., p. 461.

by far more illustrious than his (Saadut Ali's) own."²⁴³ Her marriage into the Oudh Royal House, during the life time of Shujaud-dowlah, had been possible only after the Emperor of Delhi, Shah Alam, had given it his imperial sanction.²⁴⁴ During the reign of her husband over Oudh, while Saadut Ali was a struggling exile at Benares, she used to receive most obsequious letters from him.²⁴⁵ But now Saadut Ali was the sovereign and he expected deference from her who was not used to play her part as "a subject in a place where she possessed the rule."²⁴⁶

Against this psychological and emotional background the further development of troubles between them was but natural and easy. The Nawab Wazir went out of his way to make her realise that he was the master now, and every little wish of hers was thwarted.²⁴⁷ She on her part tried more and more to rely on British protection and to show Saadut Ali that she remembered the past only too well. These troubles were allowed to develop until they were, by all the parties concerned, considered to be "totally unsusceptible of adjustment or reconciliation."²⁴⁸ The Begum addressed the Resident and the Governor General on the issue of her grievances,²⁴⁹ which were: I, that the Nawab Wazir had been failing in the observance of respect due to her rank and person. II Her father's property in Delhi, which she had inherited, had been usurped by the Nawab-Wazir, III. Pay and allowances to various classes of her servants, which were, by usage, payable from the Nawab's exchequer had been discontinued. IV. Her Jagir was despoiled by the Nawab-Wazir's zemindars and amils, under his encouragement if not incitement. V. That the Nawab-Wazir on every little occasion assiduously tried to hurt her feelings and injure her interests.

Her demands were (i) to be given money in lieu of the victuals supplied for her table daily from the royal kitchen; and (ii) to be permitted to quit the Oudh territories after handing over the management of her jagir into the hands of the British officers, of the Hon'ble East India Company.

243. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 441.

244. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 461.

245. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., pp. 437, 462.

246. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 431.

247. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. paras 8-13, p. 440-441.

248. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 413.

249. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 276-277 and p. 461-465.

When things had come to this pass, Saadut Ali sincerely started wishing that a rapprochement between him and his sister-in-law should take place.²⁵⁰ She, however, on her part was not prepared even to see his face. Saadut Ali wrote her a very conciliatory note saying that he would personally pay her his compliments.²⁵¹ The result was that being afraid of having to face a situation in which she might have to speak with her brother-in-law, she left Lucknow, even against Baillie's advice and went to her jagir.²⁵² From there, in spite of all requests and entreaties to come back to Lucknow, she proceeded onwards to take up permanent residence in the Company's territories and reached Allahabad, where the magistrate, under orders from above, received her with honour and éclat.²⁵³

In the meanwhile the usual negotiations between the Nawab-Wazir and the Resident regarding the complaints and claims of the Begum proceeded apace. Again the same process of long files of correspondence between Saadut Ali and Baillie,²⁵⁴ the direct address from Minto,²⁵⁵ in support of Baillie's efforts, the personal conferences between the hapless Nawab-Wazir and the bullying Resident,²⁵⁶ the systematic intimidation of the reticent and sometimes enraged Saadut Ali, the same proposals and counterproposals and higgling²⁵⁷ continued.

As could be expected, Saadut Ali was reluctant to be pushed into a corner, but the British advocates of his sister-in-law proved to be too strong for him. They used her offer of the management of her jagir to them, as an ace up their sleeve.²⁵⁸ At last Saadut Ali had to swallow, what he considered to be a slur upon the reputation of his house, i.e. the desertion of his dominions by a lady of the royal family. He had further to yield to grant a monthly stipend to her in lieu of the victuals that used to be served for her table while she was in Lucknow, at the terms dictated to

250. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 479.

251. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 439.

252. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 310-311, 437-438.

253. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 320, 475-477.

254. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 277, 279, 281, 360-364, 453-455, 467, 471-472, 479-483, 516-520, 541.

255. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 286, 510-511.

256. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 397-398, 413, 421, 423-424.

257. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 360-363, 516-520.

258. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 397, para 9.

him by Baillie.²⁵⁹ The British did not want to put themselves in an awkward, and perhaps untenable, situation by taking over the management of Shamsunnissa's jagir and so they handed it over to Saadut Ali in lieu of an yearly pension to the Begum which was equal to the net yield of the jagir—even this sum was decided by Baillie.²⁶⁰ On the question of her Delhi property, Saadut Ali in the beginning remained stubborn. He said he had inherited it amongst all other belongings of his predecessor and brother Asaf-ud-dowlah.²⁶¹ Nevertheless, he had to yield to the inexorable pressure. He, however, was adamant in maintaining that the Begum could inherit only such portion of it as was justly hers after satisfying the demands of her nephew Husainuddin Khan, who was a preferential heir to the said property, under Islamic law.²⁶²

Agitated simultaneously were the cases of persons who were in British employ, although in very low positions, e.g. sepoy and naiks etc. in the company's Indian forces, and who were at the same time residents of Oudh. There can hardly be any doubt that the Nawab-Wazir never allowed any opportunity pass without trying to show his vindictiveness against these weak individuals whom he considered to be British protégés. Being aware of the fact, his amils and other officials almost always oppressed those of the Company's protégés whom they could lay their hands upon. The other aspect of the matter, however, was that these individuals in their vanity at being protégés of a superior and mightier power always tried to be overbearing. But Baillie, in his turn, pressed Saadut Ali a little too far into a corner when he got his unwilling consent "that on every future occasion of such oppressive proceedings as those on part of his Excellency's Aumils, or of the seizure of any part of the property of a sepoy, on whatever pretext, the declaration of the plaintiff on oath to the extent or value of his property seized, without any specification of the articles or testimony of witnesses in his behalf, shall be received as proof against the aumil, who shall be immediately compelled to repay the amount of the sepoy's loss to the full extent of his declaration."²⁶³

Be it said to the credit of his determined obstinacy (in which there was something pathetic on account of his essential helplessness-

259. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 517.

260. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 517-518.

261. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 481-482.

262. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 546.

263. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 399—para 14.

ness) that Saadut Ali exhausted all possible means of evasion before he finally complied with each different requisition of Baillie.²⁶⁴ A classic example of this is the case of Mal Tiwari Naik. After the usual routines of negotiations (i.e. correspondence, conferences, personal addresses from the Governor-General in support of Baillie, delays, wranglings, evasions and postponements) even in these small and annoying affairs poor Saadut Ali had to abide by the decisions forced upon him by the British Government and its representative. This much, however, ought to be plainly stated, that each of these small matters meant as much humiliation and trouble to the Nawab-Wazir as any of the greater affairs of state on which there was difference of opinion between him and the Resident. Such were the cases of Mal Tiwari Naik,²⁶⁵ and Pershad Singh Subadar,²⁶⁶ to mention only two of the many subordinate employees of the East India Company about whom there was discussion.

Of the Apprehension of Marauders and Banditti

In itself the dispute that arose between the British Government and the Nawab-Wazir on the question of British Subsidiary forces of Oudh being used for the pursuit of public offenders from the company's territories who found refuge there, was a thing of minor importance. On account of the principles it involved, the decisive step taken by Saadut Ali of lodging a report on the behaviour and conduct of Major Baillie with the Governor-General, and the absolute determination of Minto to show the Oudh ruler his subordinate position the interest it has for a student of the Oudh-British Relations is much enhanced.

A continuous but minor trouble which existed between Oudh and the British power in these days was that marauders and banditti who infested the Company's territories near Oudh crossed into Oudh and got shelter sometimes with influential zemindars and taluqdars of this state.²⁶⁷ Usually in such cases, on the Resident's application to the Nawab-Wazir, a proclamation against such offenders was issued, and Oudh amils were ordered to seize them.²⁶⁸ But now

264. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 539—para 19. (An example is, where the Nawab Wazir shows a wonderful way of delaying satisfaction of a claim which he has been forced to accept).

265. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 511 (Final satisfaction).

266. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 492.

267. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 298-299, 300-301.

268. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 300, 308-309.

Minto became keen to make the seizure of such culprits absolutely sure and foolproof.²⁶⁹ For this purpose it was proposed to use the British troops stationed in Oudh against these marauders. The Nawab's first and eminently just objection was that when he had asked for the use of these troops, for which he had paid with two-thirds of his kingdom, against offenders against his government it was refused saying that "the apprehension of criminals is the duty of the police."²⁷⁰ The same troops were now sought to be used against offenders, whom the British government wished to apprehend.²⁷¹ Even for this he was agreeable, but he proposed that before each such operation for rounding up criminals was undertaken he should be informed in advance so that he might be able to instruct the amil concerned to accompany and assist the British force.²⁷² This the British refused. They said plainly that amils were usually abettors and accomplices of the criminals and if they had previous information of the operations success never could be achieved.²⁷³ What Minto wished Baillie to extract from Saadut Ali was a general licence for the Resident, in his discretion, to be permitted the use of troops in Oudh and their movements, against marauders and banditti to be pointed out either by the Resident or by the district magistrates of the districts in British territories from which the marauders had escaped.²⁷⁴ Such a general licence, argued the Nawab-Wazir, would ".....create a general belief among the people that I possess no power or authority and that I have transferred the whole of my authority to the English gentlemen."²⁷⁵ Such arguments of his were labelled "groundless remarks"²⁷⁶ by the British. On only one thing was Saadut Ali really keen and it was the maintenance of his prestige as ruler and of his authority over his own affairs.²⁷⁷ When it seemed that he would prove obdurate, Minto decided to carry out the scheme of moving troops, without permission or even information to the Nawab within Oudh territories, and in spite of his opposition, if any.²⁷⁸

269. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 302, 303-304, 309-310.

270. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 296.

271. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 315-316.

272. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 306-307.

273. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 356, 358.

274. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 367, 368.

275. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 315.

276. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 336—para 6.

277. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 351-352.

278. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 317-318.

Saadut Ali now had to reconcile himself to the inevitable.²⁷⁹ Be it said to his credit that even while matching swords, in negotiations, with a career diplomat like Baillie, he proved as vigilant and efficient as few Indian rulers of his times have done. Even while realising that his opposition to this plan must prove unavailing he prevailed upon Baillie to agree that before each operation against such Banditti at least he would be informed of the names of the marauders against whom the operation was undertaken.²⁸⁰ Even though to Baillie, this concession seemed 'puerile' and vain, one must confess that in winning this concession, Saadut Ali had got the recognition of the principle that he was the sovereign and that without his previous knowledge no action within his dominions could be taken.

An interesting off-shoot of these discussions, though not entirely unconnected with other problems, was that during their progress Saadut Ali took the extreme measure of reporting to Minto against Baillie's conduct. The six charges he preferred, and substantiated by concrete examples were:—(1) Disrespect to the Nawab-Wazir, (2) Attempt to play the ruler in Oudh, (3) Intemperance in behaviour, (4) Impropriety of remarks, (5) Undue interference in domestic affairs of Oudh, (6) Assumption of too much responsibility to himself.²⁸¹

This disgust of Saadut Ali was such that in the same communication he expressed a desire to be allowed to resign his government and leave on pilgrimage.²⁸² This he might have written in sheer desperation or as an empty threat to impress the Governor-General. One cannot be sure.

This report against Baillie met with the same fate as all other communications from him, and the correspondence on it took exactly the same lines as all others did. Minto supported Baillie outright and rebuked Saadut Ali for his impudence in lodging such a report.²⁸³ As a counter-measure against this Baillie charged the Nawab-Wabir with a disrespectful style of addressing the representative of the British government.²⁸⁴ In due course came the

279. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 367—para 8.

280. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 391—para 28.

281. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 331-332.

282. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 332.

283. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit., p. 376-381.

284. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 339-340.

mandate from the Governor-General to the poor Saadut Ali, enjoining him to be more careful in the future and not to repeat the mistake of using an overbearing tone in his communications with the Resident.²⁸⁵ This helpless prince now realised his utter helplessness and reconciled himself to his fate but his satisfaction must have been, if such a thought can be of any satisfaction, that he had not yielded without manfully struggling to maintain his power and prestige.

This narrative makes it plain that Baillie was the villain of the piece. We may not go all the distance with Irwin, who considered Saadut Ali as "perhaps the ablest and most enlightened native ruler then living."²⁸⁶ but this certainly is a fact that Saadut Ali was hard-working, conscientious, efficient, capable and God-fearing as a sovereign. In this we have the verdicts of Lord Valentia,²⁸⁷ Bishop Heber,²⁸⁸ Col. Sleeman²⁸⁹ and Col. Mc Andrew.²⁹⁰ in our support. If only Saadut Ali had not that peevishness and the tendency sometimes, to stoop in order to conquer, a little too much of avarice for all that glitters (both reputation and gold) and a certain lack of personal bravery and chivalry, he might have been one of the greatest rulers and statesmen of India. That he had great facility for negotiations and that his diplomatic acumen was great nobody can deny.

Minto's conduct in his relations with Oudh shows clearly how radically he had broken off from the traditions of non-intervention which Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow had tried to establish. The pendulum in its swing had reached the edge where it was kept by Lord Wellesley. Minto was clear that Oudh was a subordinate power and he, therefore, felt justified in interfering in its affairs whenever it suited his convenience and British interests. If the Nawab opposed his wishes, in the first place he was to be persuaded to conform and obey but if necessary Minto was prepared to go full length and compel the poor potentate. The right of might could not be challenged.

(Concluded)

285. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 376-381.

286. Irvin. Garden of India: Op. Cit. p. 104.

287. Lord Valentia: Travels; Vol. I (Pub. 1811) pp. 133-134.

288. Heber: Narrative of a Journey; Vol. II (Pub. 1828) p. 77-78.

289. Irvin: Garden of India, Op. Cit. p. 109-110.

290. Irvin: Garden of India, Loc. Cit., p. 109.

Obituary

With deep sorrow, we record the death of Sri. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Professor of Indian History and Archaeology in the University of Madras and Associate Editor of the Journal of Indian History, on November 24th 1953.

Professor V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar was born in April 1896 at Vishnampet, Tanjore District, in an orthodox Brahmin family. He was educated at the Sir Sivaswami Aiyar High School, Tirukkattupalli and St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly. After graduation in 1923, he worked as a Research Scholar in the Department of Indian History and Archaeology in the University of Madras for four years. Later he joined the staff of St. Joseph's College, Bangalore, and served there as Lecturer in History for a year. In 1928, he was appointed Lecturer in Indian History in the University of Madras. He at once plunged into that long and deep immersion in Ancient Indian studies which earned for him the Chair of Indian History and Archaeology in the Madras University in 1947.

Prof. Dikshitar was a profound scholar in Ancient Indian History and Culture and a prolific writer. He was the author of a number of original publications relating to ancient Indian History and Culture among which particular mention may be made of the following:—*Hindu Administrative Institutions*, *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, *Mauryan Polity*, the *Silappadikaram* (English translation with introduction and notes), *War in Ancient India*, *Tirukkural* (English translation), *The Gupta Polity*, *An Index for the Major Historical Puranas*, viz., *Matsya*, *Vishnu*, *Brahmanda*, *Vayu* and *Bhagavata* of which two volumes have been printed and the third is now in the press.

His other publications are:—Some aspects of the *Vayu Purana*, the *Matsya Purana—a Study*, the *Lalita Cult* and *Kulottunga Chola III* (in Tamil). He has edited two works, one the *Bharadwaja Siksha in Sanskrit* and the other *The Karnatakadesarajakal Charitram in Tamil*. In addition he has contributed more than 100 research papers to learned periodicals in India and abroad.

His three lectures, the Sankara Parvati Endowment Lectures on the Origin and Spread of the Tamils, the Sir Subrahmanya Iyer Lectures on South India and China and the Sir William Meyer Endowment Lectures on Pre-historic South India, are some of the most useful and scholarly in the series.

He presided over the second section of the Indian History Congress at Annamalainagar in 1945 and over the History section of the All-India Oriental Conference at Nagpur in 1946. He was a member of the All-India Oriental Conference, the Indian History Congress, the Indian Historical Records Commission, and the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology. He served as a member both of the Senate and Academic Council of the Madras University for several years. He was also a member of the Board of Studies in Tamil and the Oriental Languages and Chairman of the Board of Studies in History and Politics in the Madras University.

Prof. Dikshitar was a distinguished scholar who combined a remarkably rich stock of historical learning with a gift of simple and scholarly exposition. No one has contributed as he did to our knowledge and understanding of the politics of the Mauryas and the Guptas in all their varied aspects. The Journal of Indian History especially owes a great debt to his memory for his long period of unselfish and fruitful work as Associate Editor. He was a modest, even a retiring man with simple tastes, unfailing kindness and gentleness, but renowned for his steady and unflinching devotion to the cause of exact scholarship. His untimely death has created a void in the world of Indological studies which is hard to fill.

Reviews

THE BAHMANIS OF THE DECCAN: by Prof Haroon Khan Sherwani—crown, pp. 452. Published by the Manager of Publications, Saood Manzil, Himayatnagar, Hyderabad-Deccan. 1953.

A history of the Bahmani kingdom has been a long felt want; and Professor Sherwani deserves the thanks of all students of the history of the Mediaeval Deccan for having made the first attempt to present a connected account of the activities of the rulers of the dynasty. Besides the preface, the table of contents, a list of abbreviations and a map representing the extent of the Bahmani kingdom at the beginning and three appendices describing the chronology, the works laid under contribution by him in the preparation of the volume, and a genealogical table of the Bahmani Sultans at the end, the book comprises fourteen chapters with captions the appropriateness of some of which is not quite apparent. To take an instance chapter 5 bears the title 'Interregnum', a term which is generally taken to mean 'a period during which a State has no normal ruler, especially between the end of a king's reign and the accession of his successor'. During the period of twenty years from A.D. 1378 to 1397, no less than five kings sat on the Bahmani throne, without leaving any interval between one reign and another, when the kingdom could be considered to have had no ruler. The fact that most of these kings met their death by the assassin's knife does not make it an interregnum.

In the preparation of the present history, Professor Sherwani has not utilised all the available sources of information, but confined himself to certain Muslim histories which he enumerates in one of the chapters of the volume (ch. 14), called 'Authorities'. They are ten in number, viz. (1) *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Zia-ud-Din Barani, (2) *Futuh-us-Salat* of Isami, (3) *Riyazu'l-Insha* of Mahmud Gawan, (4) *Zau'u'l Lami* of Sakhwi, (5) *Zafaru'l-Walih* of Hajjuyud-dabir, (6) *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* of Tabataba, (7) *Tazkiratu'l-Muluk* of Rafi'ud-din Shirazi, (8) *Tabaqat-i-Akbar Shahi* of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, (9) *Haft Iqlim* of Ahmad Razi, and (10) *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* of Ferishta. Of these, the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (No. 1) is obviously a mistake for the *Tarikh-i-Fruzshahi*; for Ziya-ud-din Barani never wrote a book of that name. The Taba-

gat-i-Nasiri is a composition of Sadr-i-Jahan Minhāj-ud-din, who flourished in the court of Delhi in the times of the Sultans Nasir-ud-din and Balban of the so-called Slave Dynasty; and it has absolutely no connection whatever with the history of the Bahmani kings of the Deccan. It is surprising that some important histories both contemporary and later find no place in Prof. Sherwani's chapter on 'Authorities'. The *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* of Shams-i-Siraj'Aff is the only Muslim history which throws some light on the relations between the Sultanates of Gulbarga and Madura. *Muntakhib-ul-lubab* of the famous Khafi Khan though a late work, is valuable in some ways. Khafi Khan, no doubt, follows generally Ferishta's account; but he rejects it sometimes and furnishes information not found in any other available source. Nor is there any mention here of Abdul Jabbar, an Urdu writer of the early twentieth century, from whom Prof. Sherwani seems to derive information on important topics such as the political organization of the Bahmani kingdom in the pre-Mahmūd Gawan period.

Professor Sherwani makes no distinction between contemporary and later sources. He prefers, contrary to the canons of modern historical investigation, later to the earlier and even contemporary works. A few instances culled at random may serve to illustrate the point. On p. 46, speaking of Shaikh Siraj-ud-din, he asserts (on what authority it is not known) that 'he succeeded in persuading Pratap Rudra to embrace Islam' (n. 83). This is far from the truth. According to *Shams-i-Siraj Afif*, the Rai of Telingana (Pratap Rudra), whom Sultan Muhammad sent to Delhi, 'died upon the road. Kattu (Kannu) then presented himself to Sultan Muhammad, and made his profession of Muhammadan faith' (E.D. III, p. 367). His pointed reference to Kattu's (Kannu's) conversion to Islam and his silence regarding Pratap Rudra, implies that the latter died a Hindu. This is corroborated by the evidence of Vilasa and Kaluvacheru grants which state that Pratap Rudra committed suicide on the banks of the Narmada, while being carried away to Delhi as prisoner. There is nothing to indicate that he embraced Islam before he put an end to his own existence. Again, Prof. Sherwani accepts the melodramatic story of Ferishta in preference to the contemporary evidence of Isamy concerning the death of Ismail Mukh (pp. 63-4). According to Ferishta, he was executed by Sultan Ala-ud-din Gangu himself in the open durbar; but Isamy (and he is followed by Tabataba) states that Ismail Mukh was beguiled by the wily Narayan of Miraj and Jamkhandy to his place, where having thrown him into dungeon he caused him to be assassinated.

Similarly Prof. Sherwani prefers Ferishta's account of Mahmūd Gawan's death to the contemporary evidence of Sakhawi who heard of the occurrences at Mecca, but whose evidence cannot be brushed aside as of no value. Though the latter refers to the plot of Muhammad Muhammad Shah III's ministers against Gawan, he does not mention the forged letter. According to Sakhawi, some ministers of the Sultan who were ill-disposed towards Gawan communicated an alleged warning to him from the Sultan that Narsingh's army was about to launch attack on him and persuaded him to take all the necessary precautions to defend himself. They next repaired to the Sultan and told him that Gawan was making preparations to fall upon the royal camp and destroy it. The Sultan on seeing the war-like preparations of Gawan was so convinced of his treachery that he ordered his immediate execution.

Prof. Sherwani sometimes suppresses evidence in order to paint a better picture of the character of the Sultan than the facts warrant. From Isamy we learn that Sultan Ala-ud-din Hasan made an unprovoked attack on Vijayanagara and captured the fort of Karai-chur belonging to Harihara; Ferishta also refers to another invasion of the Vijayanagara kingdom towards the end of Ala-ud-din's reign and the subjugation of the territory up to the Tungabhadra. These events find no place in Prof. Sherwani's history, because he wants his readers to believe that 'the breach of peace emanated not from Muhammad Shah but from the Rayas of Telingana and Vijayanagar' (p. 89) though he vaguely mentions a tribute from Vijayanagara in the reign of the first Sultan without explaining it (p. 61). He also accepts Ferishta's false account of Muhammad Shah's war with Vijayanagara, and suppresses Khafi Khan's more sober account lest it should mar the impressive character of the grandiose picture of an irresistible mighty conqueror. Prof. Sherwani's work so far as it deals with the relations of the Bahmani Sultans with their Hindu neighbours is a perversion of facts. What the Sultans failed to achieve with their swords, Prof. Sherwani, following the example of Ferishta, attempts to accomplish by means of his pen.

The greatest defect of Prof. Sherwani's history is its one-sidedness. This arises from the neglect of Hindu sources. In the chapter on 'Antecedents', while describing the circumstances that led to the downfall of Tughluq empire, he buries his head in the sands of the Muslim chronicles and forgets conveniently the Hindu side of the question. He ignores totally such important documents as the Vilasa grant of Prolaya Nayaka and the Kaluvacheru grant of Anitalli,

which throw a flood of light on the history of Andhra during this period. No wonder he is unaware of the Andhra national movement which took shape under the able leadership of Prolaya Nayaka and expelled the Muhammadans bag and baggage from the coastal regions within half a dozen years after the fall of Warangal. Nor has he anything to say about the conquest of the Western Andhra and the province of Kampili including the important forts of Anegondi and Raichur, from Sultan Muhammad by the Chālukya prince Somadeva. He also accepts without question the absurd story of the Muslim chroniclers that the Rāya of Orissa, Kapileśvara, who invaded the Bahmani dominions with 10,000 men and 400 cavalry was not only defeated by a small company of 160 armour clad troopers under Shah Muhibb-ul-lah, one of the officers of Nizam Shah (Ahmad III) but also compelled to pay a war indemnity of five lacs of silver tankas. It is incredible that Kapileśvara's army which destroyed in the previous year the Bahmani forces at Devarakonda and wrested almost the whole of Telingana from Bahmani Sultan would have been routed by a small company of Muslim troopers. The Hindu inscriptions, on the contrary, state that Kapileśvara conquered the kingdom of Gulbarga, and their provenance shows that the whole of Telingana was still in his possession. The contemporary records of the Uriya monarch and his officers deserve more credence than the exaggerations of the much later Muslim chroniclers. Nevertheless, Prof. Sherwani ignores the former, and gives undue prominence to the latter. Another instance of this kind is furnished by his description of Muhammad Shah III's expedition to Kanchi, which he represents as a glorious triumph of the Sultan's military genius. Conveniently enough, he forgets to mention the evidence of the contemporary Telugu literature, according to which Isvara Nayaka, the commander-in-chief of Saluva Narasimha defeated, at the instance of his master, in a battle at Kandukur the Yavanas of Bidar and captured their horse as a part of the booty. A similar omission is found in his description of Krishnadevaraya's relations with Yusuf Adil Khan and Malik Qutb-ul-Mulk. "There were two men however, says he, 'who proved too much of a match for the stalwart Vijayanagara ruler, i.e., Yusuf 'Adil of Bijapur, and Qutb-ul-Mulk, Governor of Telingana. We read of frequent scuffles between Yusuf 'Adil and Krishnadevaraya in which the latter was not always victorious, and Qutb-ul-Mulk seems to have got the better of the southerner in the east as we find him endowing some villages near Kondapalli and Bezwada for a charitable purpose in 1524, showing that he must have reconquered these parts before that year'

(p. 413). A little knowledge of the Hindu sources and of the history of the coastal Andhra country would have shown to Prof. Sherwani the hazardous character of these statements. Krishnadevaraya came to the throne in A.D. 1509-10 and Yusuf Adil Khan died in 1510. Therefore there could not have been frequent scuffles between the two. They came into conflict with each other in A.D. 1510, and Krishnadevaraya killed Adil Khan in a battle near Kovilkonda during the course of an expedition against the northern country. (Amukta 1; 42, Briggs Ferishta III, p. 350, Burhan-i-M'alsir, IA. XXVIII, p. 319). The evidence of the inscriptions cited by Prof. Sherwani to show that Qutb-ul-Mulk reconquered Kondapalli from Krishnadevaraya does not support his contention as the fort was included at the time not in the Vijayanagara empire. According to the terms of peace between the Raya and the Gajapati in 1518 at the end of the Kalinga war, the former ceded all the territory to the north of the Krishna and annexed only what lay to the south of it. Qutb-ul-Mulk could not have wrested Kondapalli from Krishnadevaraya.

Prof. Sherwani, no doubt, cites occasionally the evidence of Hindu inscriptions; but he generally belittles their importance, and holds that the facts mentioned are of no material consequence. Take for instance Mujahid Shah's expedition against Vijayanagara. The bombastic descriptions of Muslim historians notwithstanding, his expedition ended in a terrible disaster. He suffered defeat twice, once at Vijayanagara and again at Adoni. His army was nearly destroyed; his prime minister and his brother fell into the hands of the enemy; and he had to beat a hasty retreat into his own dominions, during the course of which he was himself murdered by his cousin Daud. The Raya of Vijayanagara took full advantage of these victories. He planned a double attack on the Bahmani kingdom. He commanded Chaundapa Madhava, the Governor of Banavasi, to proceed northward and subjugate the territory belonging to the Bahmani Sultan on both sides of the Ghats as far as Chaul and Dabul. The campaign was brilliantly successful, and the Konkan coast as well as Belgaum and its neighbourhood passed into the hands of the Raya of Vijayanagara. Another army under Bukka II which was despatched against the Sultan's allies, the Velamas of Rajukonda, penetrated into the heart of Telingana, and reached Kotfakonda near Warangal, where in an engagement with the Bahmani forces Saluva Ramadeva, one of the officers in the Vijayanagara army fell. The death of Ramadeva did not affect the course of the campaign; for according to the *Vaidyaraja-vallabham*,

a treatise on Medicine by Bukka II's physician, Lakshmanacharya, which describes the campaign at some length, Bukka II routed his enemies, the king of Andhra as well as the Sultan, exacted tribute from both and returned home in triumph. To Prof. Sherwani these Vijayanagara victories signify nothing; he brushes them aside with the remark, 'All this is rather obscure, and there they seem to be no more than desultory skirmishes,' and concludes complacently that Harihara II ultimately agreed to pay tribute (p. 126).

Prof. Sherwani is a sincere Muslim. Though he does speak at times of the synthesis of the Hindu and Muslim cultures, he is an isolationist by instinct. To him contact with the Hindus is painful; and he labours hard to show that the Mussalmans did not mix with them, and soil the purity of their race. He repudiates the association of Hasan Gangu with Gangu Brahman and formulates for him a pedigree from Kaikus Bahman and Isfandiar, the mythical kings of Iran. But his attempt to foist Hasan into the family of Zafar Khan, one of the noblemen in the court of Ala-ud-din Khalji, is an instance of *tour de force* calculated to throw dust in the eyes of the readers unacquainted with Persian sources. 'Hasan' says Prof. Sherwani, 'was a nephew of Malik Hizhbaru'd-din entitled Zafar Khan 'Alai who had been killed in action in 697/1298 against the Trans-Oxianian Turki hordes, when Hasan was only six years old' (p. 49). 'Ali Shah Natthu was a nephew of Malik Hizhbaru'd-din Zafar Khan.... He was sent by the Viceroy Qutlugh Khan to Gulbarga to collect taxes, but instead of carrying out his orders he proclaimed himself king at Dharur with the title of Ala-ud-din Malik Shah, and was joined by his three brothers, Hasan Gangu, Ahmad and Muhammad' (p. 24). The name of Hasan Gangu has been substituted by Prof. Sherwani for Malik Ikhtiyar to provide a place for him among the nephews of Malik Hizhbaru'd-din Zafar Khan. Is this deliberate, or the result of a strong prepossession? Fortunately, Isamy who knew these brothers gives their names as Ali Shah, Ahmad Shah, Malik Ikhtiyar and Muhammad Shah (*Futuh-us-Salatin* p. 463, Agra Edn., p. 484 Madras Edn.). Another instance of Prof. Sherwani's isolationism is found in his re-interpretation of the party labels of Muslim nobles, the Dakhnis and Gharibs in the Bahmani court. In the place of Gharib he introduces a new word 'afaqi' which he takes to mean a 'new comer'; he interprets the term 'Dakhni' to mean an 'old comer' and contends that the struggle was indeed between two sections of foreign Muslim immigrants one of which came earlier than the other. Is the substitution of afaqi for Gharib and the inter-

pretation of Dakhni as 'old comer', one may ask, due to the influence of the specious 'two nation' theory of recent years? The division of Mussalmans into parties was not peculiar to the Deccan. It was known in Delhi in the time of Slave, Khalji and Tughluq Sultans. When the Arab, Turki and Persian Mussalmans ranged themselves against those that were Indian in origin, colour prejudice exercised considerable influence. The Arab, Turki, and Persian immigrants despised the Indian Muslims and called them the blacks. That is the reason why the Habshies (Abyssinians) joined the Indian and the Dakhni Mussalmans, though like the Arabs, Turks and Persians they also came from abroad.

Prof. Sherwani gives an exaggerated importance to Mahmūd Gawan. He was no doubt a great minister, but not certainly greater than Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghorī. Prof. Sherwani represents him as an innocent victim who fell a prey to the machinations of his political rivals; but he does not explain the cause which provoked their hostility and incited them to compass his ruin. Mahmūd was a foreigner, an immigrant from Persia, and he favoured foreigners especially his own countrymen; he introduced them into royal service and offered them rich and strategic places as apanages, so that they became a powerful force in the kingdom and a menace to its stability. This roused the jealousy of the Dakhnis, and in order to get rid of a dangerous and powerful rival, they plotted against him successfully.

The map of the Bahmani kingdom is quite faulty; the southern boundary of the kingdom never reached the Tungabhadra during the period under consideration. The Krishna-Tungabhadra doab was the bone of contention between the two kingdoms. True, the Bahmani Sultans occupied large portions of it during the periods of invasion; but they were as often driven out by the Rayas of Vijayanagar who re-established their authority over it. Towards the close of the rule of the Bahmani Sultans, Krishnadevaraya expelled the Muhammadans from the doab and annexed it to his empire. There is no justification for including it in the Bahmani kingdom. The work is not provided with an index; and the reader is left to his own devices for locating information on any given topic. Slips of grammar and idiom are common, and the style is enlivened by occasional malapropisms. The printing is bad, and no proper effort seems to have been made to read the proofs.

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA

ENGLISH RECORDS OF MARATHA HISTORY, POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE Vol. 13, POONA AFFAIRS; *Elphinstone's Embassy* Part II (1816-1818) Edited by G. S. Sardesai and Printed at the Govt. Press, Bombay, in 1953; Pages XVI and 522". Price Rs. 22/7/-.

The Poona Residency correspondence series is already very well known as an authoritative source of information respecting the relations between the Marathas and the English in the 18th and 19th centuries. A wise choice of leading authorities, who have presented this information in a manner both scholarly and readable, and of a format attractive to the eye and easy on the hand, has built for this series a high reputation well deserved. In the new volume on *Elphinstone's Embassy* in Poona Affairs the same qualities are maintained.

Best known as the author of the multi-volume *Marathi Riyasat* and its English version—the *New History of the Maratha People* (3 vols.), the doyen of contemporary Indian historians, G. S. Sardesai has performed with characteristic excellence this labour of love, the editing of the second part of *Elphinstone's Embassy* (1816-1818). This is a collection of about 150 despatches from Poona Residency arranged under four convenient sections dealing with Triambakji Dingle, Treaty of Poona, 'Third Maratha War', and the Settlement after it. The lucid foreword (5 pages) by P. M. Joshi, the Director of Bombay Archives, deals with the relations of Peshwa Baji Rao II with the Company and explains briefly the plan of the publications to follow. The brilliant career of *Elphinstone*, forms the subject of a fine sketch by Jadu Nath Sarkar, the veteran General Editor of the series, in his introduction which, as is only to be expected, furnishes a model of clarity, brevity and precision. There is an index to the letters arranged in alphabetical order of the writers which makes for easy reference. There is also a summary indication of the contents of each letter prefixed to its text in the body of the book and a serviceable index at the end so that the reader finds all the facilities he is likely to need.

The main sections are as already indicated:-

1. Escape and insurrection of Trimbakji Dingle, 1816-17 (41)
2. Treaty of Poona and After, 1817 (24 despatches)
3. War with Peshwa and his pursuit, 1817-1818 (71 despatches)

4. Settlement of the Territory conquered from the Peshwa, 1818 (14 despatches)

The two last despatches (149 and 150) were written two years later (1820), after everything was settled, and addressed to the Home authorities by the Governor-General.

There are sometimes several enclosures to a letter and these are often more important than the covering letter, and the editor has done well to draw the reader's attention to this in every case.

The despatches in the volume are a veritable store house of historical information, throwing a welcome light on the diplomacy and political skill of Elphinstone, the Resident at Poona in those fateful days. As Jadunath Sarkar writes:

"It gives us a full inside view of the almost inevitable course of events which brought about the deposition of the last Peshwa Baji Rao II and the annexation of his dominions to the British Indian Empire. The steps which led to this momentous change in India's political destiny are here illustrated with a wealth of detail and a revelation of the secret plans and policy of the British authorities and the Maratha Courts, which make it a documentary record of equal interest and instruction to the serious student of Indian History."

The despatches serve a double purpose to the historian. On the one side, they exhibit the various forces that worked to bring about the disintegration of the Maratha State during the regime of the Peshwa Baji Rao II, the evil genius of the Marathas. The mean tricks, the intrigues and the plots which Baji Rao used in his attempt to expel the British authority from his province, are fully set forth. But Baji Rao was disappointed in the end and lost his status as well as his Empire, thanks to Elphinstone's remarkable ability in handling difficult and tricky situations.

This volume will serve also as a useful source for a well-documented and authentic biography of Mount Stuart Elphinstone, one of the best statesmen and administrators that Britain ever sent to India. In diplomatic manoeuvring, and administrative capacity, he was unrivalled and was far superior to his predecessors like Malet and Collins. He made his fortune first in 1795 as a Private Secretary to the Wellesley brothers, then by dint of sheer merit rose to the position of a Resident in 1804 and was in Nagpur for seven years. In 1811, he became the Resident at Poona and came into closer contact with the affairs of the Peshwa. As Resident at

Poona, his most valuable service consisted in the annexation of Maratha State to the British without enraging the feelings of the Maratha people. His pre-eminence was recognised by the Governor-General who chose him as the ruler of the newly annexed Peshwa's dominions at first as commissioner and then elevated him to the Governorship of the greatly expanded Bombay Presidency.

The volume is on the whole very well produced and makes for comfortable reading. One hopes that the supplementary volume of some important records of the Second Maratha War omitted 'in the hurry of completing the work' as Dr. Joshi puts it will soon be forthcoming. The Government of Bombay have earned the gratitude of scholars by their liberal policy in the publication of their archives and they will doubtless be quick to respond to the demands made on them by the future programme indicated by their Director of Archives at the end of his Foreword.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

BARODA THROUGH THE AGES BY BENDAPUDI SUBBA
RAO; University of Baroda, Baroda—1953. pp. XIV and 1-130.
Rs. 15.

This spectacularly titled volume mainly gives a summary of the results of an excavation carried out by the author in the Baroda City area for the year 1950-51. Apart from this important archaeological material, the book includes information mostly compiled from literary works and has been divided into three parts.

The first part (11 pages) includes

- (i) Introduction
- (ii) Baroda area—topography
- (iii) Previous work
- (iv) Aims and objects of the present work
- (v) A brief summary of the results.

Part two with its subdivisions and appendices contains the most relevant material, the description of the dig, the sections and the plates which form the core of the work and contribute to its real value. But the limitations of digging in a live city have imposed inevitable handicaps on the work.

Part three is purely compilatory and inclusion of such material along with original work leaves a bewildering impression on the

mind of the reader. Though this is perhaps meant for a popular appeal, the work would have been more compact and greater in value without it.

The Red Polished Ware (See p. 32 and Appendix I, p. 56) commonly occurs on most of the Andhra sites. At best, it is an imitation of Roman pottery, particularly the Samian. It is also true that types of this Red Polished Ware are often associated with "Graeco-Roman" moulded pottery figurines, which probably are also imitations, as evidenced by the Chandravalli site in Mysore. On the whole, their date would fit well with the early centuries of the Christian era, but precise dating would be possible only if these types of pottery are associated with either the Andhra or the Roman coins. It would have been useful if the author had given a map of distribution of this particular ware, particularly the sprinklers, over the Whole of India, besides Gujrat (Fig. 27 p. 63).

In the microlithic phase, the earliest culture of Baroda, it is significant that microlithic tools and flakes occurred in diminishing quantities in period II (Historical) (p. 19). They may be accidental as the author supposes, but evidences for the survival of microliths into the historical period are well known in India and that possibility should not be overlooked. Fig. 28 on microliths shows one of the greatest defects of Indian publications on stone age cultures and could have been made much neater.

On the whole, the book is a welcome addition to our knowledge of regional archaeology for which there is an unlimited scope in the sub-continent of India. A pottery corpus, on which the future of Indian Archaeology depends so much, can be accomplished, if more regional work in Archaeology is carried on by our universities, and the young university of Baroda must be congratulated on the production of this work.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

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- I. *Ancient India*, 7, January, 1951, New Delhi.
 1. *Plant-remains from Harappa, 1946*, by K. A. Chowdhury and S. S. Ghosh.
 2. *Further Copper Hoards from the Gangetic Basin and a Review of the problem*, by B. B. Lal.
 3. *Rajgir 1950*, by A. Ghosh.
- II. *Aryan Path*, Vol. XXIV, November 1953, No. II, Bombay.
 1. *The Eastward Expansion of Aryan Culture*, by Chand Chhabra.
- III. *Bharatiya Vidya*, Vol. XIII, 1952.
 1. *Decline of Buddhism in Bengal*, by Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar.
 2. *The Brahmanas—What Can They Teach Us*, by Dr. H. R. Karnik.
 3. *Saivism and Andhra Desa*, by Prof. K. Sitaramaia.
 4. *Kashmir Saivism*, by Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan.
 5. *Vettakkorumakan, A Kerala Deity*, by Shri S. Venkatasubramania Iyer.
- IV. *The Ceylon Historical Journal*, January and April 1953, Vol. II, Nos. 3 & 4, Colombo.
 1. *Sociological Background of Early Sinhalese Paintings*, by Nandadeva Wijesekera.
 2. *Some Aspects of Early Sinhalese Architecture* by K. V. Soundararajan.
 3. *Buddhaghosa, the Great Commentator*, by A. P. Buddhadatta Thera.
 4. *The Catholic Church in Ceylon from 1658 to 1687*, by Rev. Robrecht Boudens.
 5. *The Treaty of 1766 between the King of Kandy and the Dutch (2)*, by E. Reimers.

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6. *The Events Leading to the Capitulation of 1796, A Re-statement*, by R. L. Brohier.
7. *The Sinhalese Caste-system of Central and Southern Ceylon*, by William H. Gilbert, Jr.

V. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, Part V, January 1950.

1. *The Kendupatna Plates of Narasimha II; Sets II and III*, by Dinesh Chandra Sircar.
2. *Two Sendraka Grants*, by G. H. Khare.
3. *Velicherla Grant of Prataparudra Gajapati, Saka 1432*, by Ramadas, G.
4. *Terundia Plate of Subhakara II*, by D. C. Sircar.
5. *Tali Inscription of Kodai Ravi, 17th year*, by V. Venkatasubba Aiyar.
6. *Four Bhaikshuki Inscriptions*, by D. C. Sircar.
7. *Madras Museum Plates of Anantasaktivarman; year 28*, by M. Venkatramayya.
8. *Nagari Plates of Anangabhima III; Saka 1151 and 1152*, by D. C. Sircar.

VI. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, Part VI, April 1950.

1. *Nagari Plates of Anangabhima III; Saka 1151 and 1152*, by D. C. Sircar.
2. *Russellkonda Plates of Nettekhanja*, by D. C. Sircar.
3. *Jabalpur Plates of Maharaja Hastin; G. E. 170*, by Raj Bali Pandey.
4. *Two Tamil Inscriptions from Punganur*, by V. Venkatasubba Aiyar.
5. *Two Grants of Bhanja Kings of Vanjuluva* by D. C. Sircar.
6. *Mahada Plates of Somesvaradevavarman: Year 23*, by D. C. Sircar and Venkataramayya.

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1. *The Madras Record Office*, by B. S. Baliga.

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VIII. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIX, No. 2, June, 1953.

1. *Position of the Slaves and Serfs as depicted in the Kharoshthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan* by Ratna Chandra Agrawala.
2. *Appointment of Ministers and High Officials in Ancient India* by Kunja Govinda Goswami.
3. *The Era of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, by Dr. D. C. Sircar.
4. *The Later Imperial Guptas*, by Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya.
5. *Kautilya on Royal Authority*, by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.
6. *An Ancient Reference to Menander's Invasion*, by Dr. V. S. Agrawala.
7. *The Harsha and Bhatika Eras*, by Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A.

IX. *Indian Review, The*, Vol. 54, November 1953, No. 11, Madras.

1. *Indian Influences in Modern Times*, by Sir Sisirkumar Mitra.

X. *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2, April 1953, Hyderabad-Deccan.

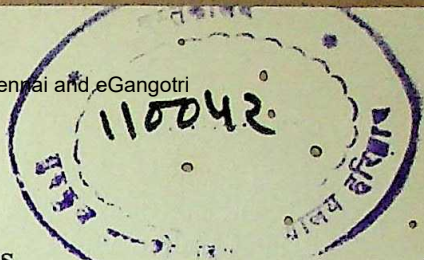
1. *Al-Masudis Contribution to Medieval Arab Geography*, by Dr. S. Maqbul Ahmed.
2. *The Nature of the State in Medieval India*, by Prof. Sri Ram Sharma.
3. *Qasim-I-Kahi, His Life, Times and Works*, by Prof. Hadi Hasan.

XI. *Journal of the Annamalai University*, Vol. XVIII, September 1953, Annamalai Nagar.

1. *Some Dravidian Loan-Words in English*, by Sri C. R. Myleru.
2. *Kumara Kampana in the Tamil Country*, by Sri A. Krishnaswami Pillai.

- XII. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXIX, Parts 1-2, March and June 1953, Patna.
1. *Lakulisa Paśupatas and Their Temples in Medieval India*, by B. P. Majumdar.
 2. *A Newly Discovered Volume of Awadhi Works including Padmawat and Akhrawat of Malik Muhammad Jaisi*, by Prof. S. H. Askari.
 3. *Two Brahmi Inscriptions*, by Dr. D. C. Sircar.
 4. *Studies in Hindu Political Thought and Its Metaphysical Foundations*, by Dr. Vishvanath Prasad Varma.
 5. *Bihar and the Indian Movement of 1857-59*, by Dr. K. K. Datta.
 6. *The Judicial Administration of the East India Company in Bengal, 1765-1782*, by Dr. Bankey Bihari Mishra.
- XIII. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. II, June 1953, No. 4, Baroda.
1. *Two New Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Chalukya Dynasty*, by Dr. H. G. Shastri.
- XIV. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. III, September 1953, No. 1.
1. *Contribution to a Buddhistic Bibliography—No. 3*, by Shri Sibadas Chaudhuri.
 2. *Position of the daughter in Ramayana Society*, by Dr. S. N. Vyas.
- XV. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, July 1953, Vol. XXII (New Series), Part 1.
1. *Notes on Some Obscure Taxes of the Maratha Regime*, by B. R. Kulkarni.
- XVI. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, September 1953, Vol. XXII, (New Series), Part 2.
1. *Historical Data from the Kṛṣṇacarita Ascribed to Samudra-Gupta*, by A. D. Pusalker.
- XVII. *Man in India*, Vol. 33, No. 3, July-September 1953.
1. *Prehistoric Researches in India*, by Dharani Sen.
 2. *The Kon-Tiki Expedition*, by Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

- XVIII. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XLIII, No. 1, July, 1952, Bangalore.
1. *Expansion of Satavahana Kingdom from Eastern Deccan*, by Y. V. Ramana Rao.
 2. *Notes on Two Ancient Territorial Divisions of South India*, by M. Venkataramayya.
 3. *Some Ancient Territorial Divisions — Sindavadi, 1,000* by K. S. Vaidyanathan.
- XIX. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XLIII, No. 2, October 1952, Bangalore.
1. *Notes: Two Ancient Territorial Divisions* by K. S. Vaidyanathan.
- XX. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XLIII, Nos. 3 & 4 January & April 1953.
1. *The Kodumbalur Chiefs and the Revival of the Colas* by K. V. Subramanya Aiyer.
 2. *Eastern Ganga Inscriptions in the Tamil Country*, by Dr. D. C. Sircar.
 3. *Srivilliputtur: History and Epigraphy*, by V. Srinivasan.
 4. *The Chronology of Andhra Dynasty and the Hathgumpha Inscription*, by Y. V. Ramana Rao.
 5. *A Coronation 4,000 years ago*, by Sell, F. R.
 6. *The Javantinathapuram Inscription of Varaguna Maharaja*, by M. Venkataramayya & K. S. Vaidyanathan.
- XXI. *Tamil Culture*, Vol. II, Nos. 3 & 4 September 1953.
1. *When the Dravidian South Led India*, by P. J. Thomas.
 2. *Sources for the Study of the History of Jaffna*, by S. Gnana Prakasar.
 3. *The Problem of Dravidian Origins*, by M. Arokiaswami.
- XXII. *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XI, Nos. 3 & 4, July-October 1953.
1. *The Cultural Background of the Veda*, by Professor R. N. Dandekar.



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1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Aryan Path*, Bombay.
3. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona Quarterly.
4. *Brahma Vidya*, *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras.
5. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
6. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras.
7. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London.
8. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
9. *The Ceylon Historical Journal*.
10. *Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi.
11. *Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University*, Mysore.
12. *Hindustan Review*, Patna.
13. *Indian Archives*, Delhi.
14. *Indian Review*, Madras.
15. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
16. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Waltair.
17. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
18. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
19. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad.
20. *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Bombay.
21. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.
22. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
23. *Journal of Sri Venketeswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
24. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
25. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
26. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
27. *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
28. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Birmingham.
29. *University of Ceylon Review*.

SIXTEENTH SESSION (1953), WALT AIR

The sixteenth session of the Indian History Congress will be held at Waltair under the auspices of the Andhra University. The session will commence on the 29th December and close on the 31st. Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan has kindly agreed to inaugurate it. Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane, the eminent Indologist, will preside over the proceedings. There will be five Sections representing different periods of Indian History and also a Section for Local History of the Andhra country.

The membership of the Congress is open to all interested in the study and research of Indian History. The annual membership fee of Rs. 10/- should be remitted to Dr. A. C. Banerjee, Treasurer, Indian History Congress, 2, College Square, Calcutta-12. The fees for Patron and Life Member are Rs. 500/- and Rs. 100/- respectively. Old members are requested to renew their membership unless they have already done so. It will be very much appreciated if they will kindly ask their friends, who are interested in the objects of this Association, to become members also.

Papers for the session should be sent without delay to the Secretary, Indian History Congress, 125, Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta-29. Each paper should be in *duplicate* accompanied by a short summary and should not exceed ten typed pages.

Members attending the session of the Indian History Congress enjoy special facilities from the Railways and travel at a concession rate. Free accommodation will be provided for them by the Reception Committee. They will be, however, required to contribute towards their messing expenses. Members attending the session will kindly intimate Professor Gurti Venkat Rao, M.A., LL.B., Local Secretary, Indian History Congress, Andhra University, Waltair, by the 28th November.

Excursions and sight-seeing arranged by the Reception Committee will include a visit to the famous Simhachalam temple about ten miles from Waltair. The programme will also include a symposium on problems of Indian History and a lantern lecture.

The undersigned will be obliged if you will kindly send your membership fee at an early date and intimate the Local Secretary about your accommodation and messing.

6th October, 1953.
125, Rashbehari Avenue,
Calcutta-29.

P. C. GUPTA,
Secretary.

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